

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

June, 1958

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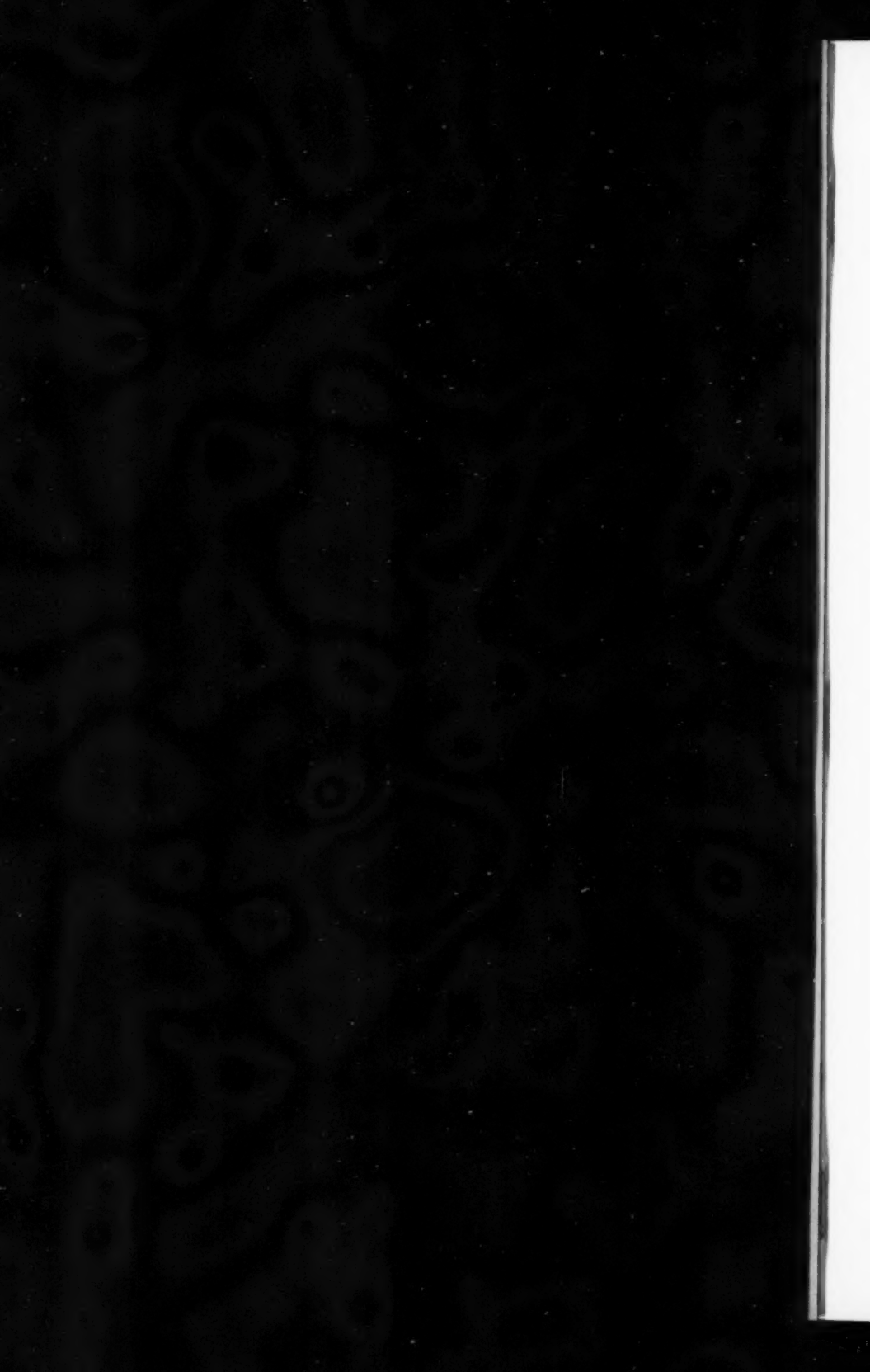
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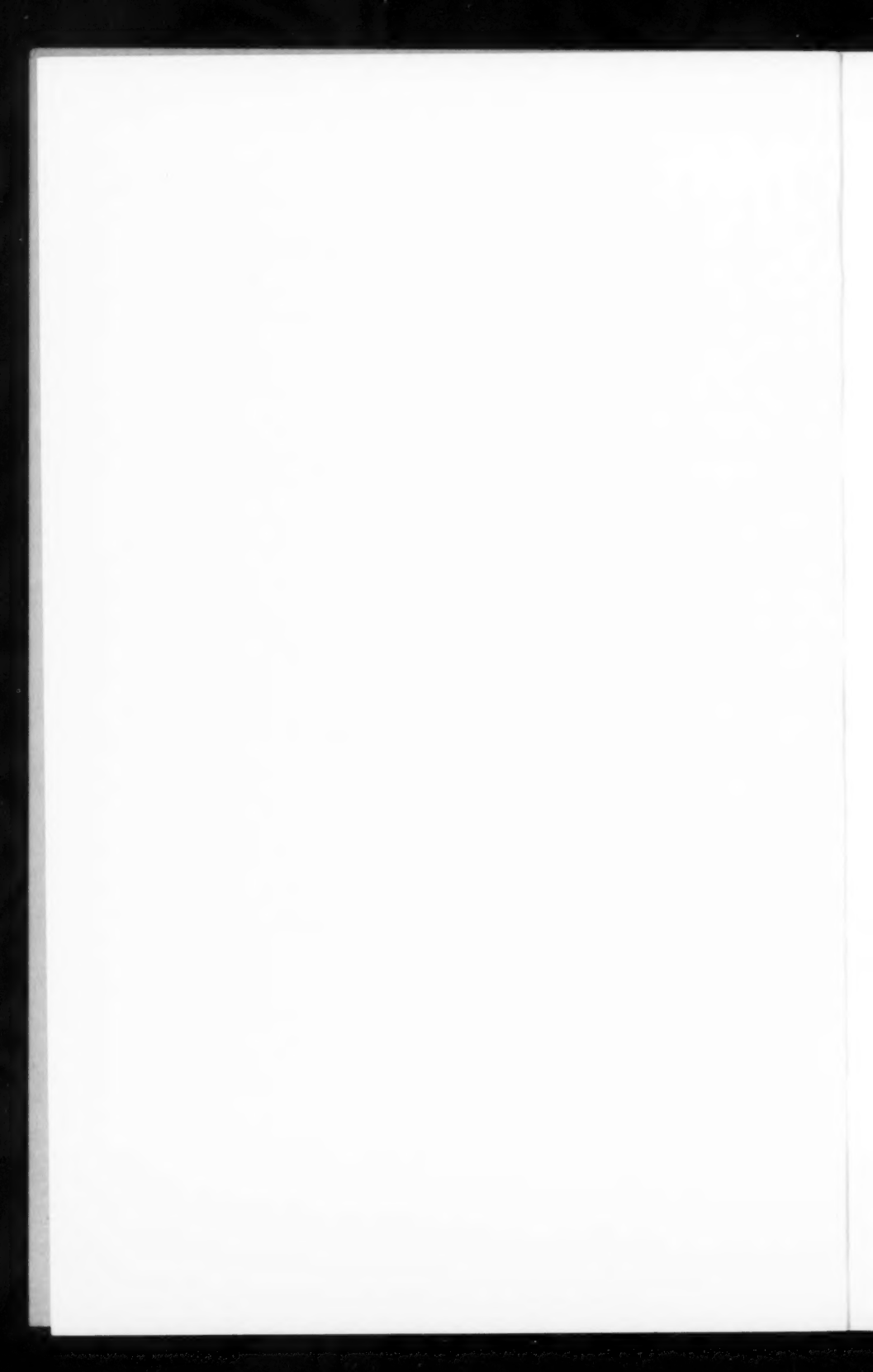
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THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN ROUSSEAU'S *EMILE*

By PAUL H. MEYER

The supposed contradiction between the extreme individualism of certain of Rousseau's writings and the collectivist and even totalitarian tendencies of others was long a commonplace among Rousseau scholars. During the last generation, however, the emphasis has shifted, and recent critics have most often insisted on the unity of all Rousseau's thought and the compatibility of the seemingly divergent attitudes of the moralist and the political thinker.¹ In the present article, I do not wish to outline the different viewpoints in this controversy nor to propose a new over-all solution, but, confining myself to the educational problem raised in *Emile*, I shall attempt to analyze the kind of environment for which Rousseau destined his pupil, and the possibility of reconciling life in the society of his own day with the ostensibly highly individualistic education given to the boy.²

This question seems deserving of treatment for more than one reason. While the relationship between individual and society has been studied many times with reference to Rousseau's political writings, where the community stands in the foreground, it has been somewhat neglected in the case of such works as the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Emile*, which deal primarily with the regeneration of the individual, but in which the problem of his relationship with society is also considered. Moreover, most readers, familiar though they may be with the earlier and more revolutionary part of the solution proposed by Rousseau in *Emile*, have been strangely unaware of the way in which he follows up his argument in the two last books of the treatise. As a matter of fact, these constitute well over half the work, and the search for a social context in which to study it seems perfectly legitimate in view of the author's own pronouncement that politics and morals cannot profitably be discussed apart.³

Like Rousseau's other theories, his thoughts on education evolved only gradually, and the different stages of his thinking describe a significant curve. Prior to the composition of his first major work, he generally accepted the code of his century, and two memoranda on the subject, composed in 1740 and 1743, show him following a conventional course, calculated to make a typical gentleman better

¹ The bibliography of this problem has been treated by Albert Schinz, in *Etat présent des travaux sur J.-J. Rousseau* (New York, 1941), pp. 372-77. It has received its most recent treatment from J. W. Chapman, in *Rousseau—Totalitarian or Liberal?* (New York, 1956).

² The present article is a considerably expanded version of a paper read at the MLA Convention in Washington, D.C., in December, 1956.

³ J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile ou De l'éducation*, ed. François et Pierre Richard (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 1939), p. 279. This edition will henceforth be referred to in the text.

able to fulfill his functions.⁴ This first phase was followed by the radical change in his whole outlook which began in 1749, when he condemned all that modern civilization had done to modify the individual. In the field of education, his new attitude is most apparent in the article "Economie" in the fifth volume of the *Encyclopédie* (1755), where he uncompromisingly called for a truly public education for and by the state. It is also evident, if we may believe the *Mémoires* of Mme d'Epinay, in his conversation with that lady in 1757, during the course of which he denied the very possibility of a model education without the prerequisite of a fundamental reform of society.⁵

The final stage of his thought is ushered in by the *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), where there is a definite attempt on the part of the author to grapple with the social realities of the day. While he continues to condemn many of the features that, at first sight, appear to be inseparable from modern civilization, he is yet willing to compromise and to take certain of its assumptions for granted in order to concentrate the more effectively on the elimination of those evils that are least bound up with its essential structure. The shock of the two succeeding attitudes adopted by Rousseau is most clearly visible in the difference in tone between the two halves of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and in the note of resignation with which its main characters eventually learn to bow to the principal conventions of their day, whereas, by 1762, in his treatise on education, his ultimate philosophy has already been woven into the original fabric.

The basic assumption in *Emile* is this: just because society has corrupted all that is good in primitive life and because the individual, regardless of his acquiescence, is constantly being modified by his environment, it has become necessary to take definite steps to adapt him constructively to it if he is not to perish in the ensuing struggle for existence. The educator has to accept the fact that, whereas in the state of nature man's happiness stems from his unfettered condition, i.e., his ability to do all that his strength permits and that he may therefore want to do, society has made the satisfaction of his needs conditional upon the good will of others, thereby reducing him to a dependence which, in the presocial state as conceived by Rousseau, is the congenital infirmity of children only.

The solution of this dilemma on the national level is, of course, the social contract, which replaces the inexorable necessities of nature with the equally impersonal force of laws conceived in the spirit of an ideal general will. Until that time comes, however, an interim solution may be attained by individuals like Emile, who are the better

⁴ See *Œuvres complètes de J.-J. Rousseau*, ed. Musset-Pathay (Paris: Dupont, 1824), X, 26-51, and *Correspondance générale de J.-J. Rousseau*, ed. Théophile Dufour et P.-P. Plan (Paris: Colin, 1924-34), I, 367-79.

⁵ *Mémoires de Madame d'Epinay*, ed. Paul Boiteau (Paris: Charpentier, 1865), II, 277-78.

prepared for genuine coöperation with their peers because they have been raised face to face with man's basic needs only and have been taught to understand the designs of the power that has made man what he is. It stands to reason that such an experience should produce a being very different from the conventional *homme civil* whom Rousseau has scourged mercilessly since 1749. Yet at the same time, he emphatically denies that he is losing sight of the educator's essential purpose, namely, to imbue his pupil with "l'art le plus nécessaire à l'homme et au citoyen, qui est de savoir vivre avec ses semblables" (p. 408). The reason that Emile, unlike the author who has conceived him, will eventually be fit to live in society is that he is not merely instinctively good, but that he has been systematically trained for virtue, i.e., for subordinating, where necessary, his natural inclinations to the higher demands placed on him by social life.

Rousseau's treatise repeatedly stresses the *art* of education as something quite distinct from the spontaneous dictates of nature, e.g., when discussing the problem whether to have the young man marry as soon as his sexual instincts have awakened: "Il y a tant de contradictions entre les droits de la nature et nos lois sociales, que pour les concilier il faut gauchir et tergiverser sans cesse" (p. 393). The problem arises as a result of the additional needs which life in society has placed upon man, and it is up to the educator to adapt his pupil to those needs that are a genuine consequence of civilization and therefore legitimate, and to separate them from those which, being based merely on prejudices and the unwarranted whims of the majority, have no claim to the attention of a reasonable human being, regardless of his environment.

Rousseau's intention of preparing his pupil for social life is further borne out by his specific recognition of the debt that Emile owes his fellow men and that he can repay only by socially constructive work. He goes out of his way to forestall any possible misinterpretation of the position adopted in his *Discours sur l'inégalité*, by emphasizing precisely the importance of those activities which, according to the earlier work, had ushered in the downfall of natural man. He establishes a regular hierarchy of useful callings, with agriculture at the top, followed by iron work, building, and so forth, but at the same time joins issue with the arbitrary value judgments of a society that regards the most essential skills as least worthy of esteem (p. 216). With this qualification, his acceptance of life in society induces him to condone even the division of labor as a means of ensuring to every member of the community the satisfaction of his basic needs as well as some of the luxuries of life,⁶ and while he notes his destructive

⁶ How great a concession to civilization he is making becomes clear when we remember the idyllic picture he drew as late as 1758 of certain Swiss farmers: "Jamais Menuisier, Serrurier, Vitrier, Tourneur de profession, n'entra dans le pays; tous le sont pour eux-mêmes, aucun ne l'est pour autrui." *Lettre à M. D'Alembert sur les spectacles*, ed. M. Fuchs (Geneva: Droz, 1948), p. 81.

analysis of this phenomenon, from a purely historical point of view, in the *Discours sur l'inégalité*, he significantly dismisses the matter as quite irrelevant to his present undertaking: "En sortant de l'état de nature, nous forçons nos semblables d'en sortir aussi; nul n'y peut demeurer malgré les autres; et ce serait réellement en sortir, que d'y vouloir rester dans l'impossibilité d'y vivre; car la première loi de la nature est le soin de se conserver" (p. 223).

It always remained, of course, one of Rousseau's fundamental tenets that all man's flaws and vices stem historically from the establishment of society, but even so, a regeneration can theoretically be effected in one of two ways: either the community can act upon the individual—and this hypothesis, already proposed in his article in the *Encyclopédie*, was to serve as a basis for the *Contrat social*—or, as outlined in *Emile*, the reverse process can occur. In that case, in order to enable regenerated man to bring salvation to a corrupt society, we must ensure his autonomous development during the critical period of growth. This explains Rousseau's seemingly paradoxical notion that the individual can best be turned into a constructive member of the community by being reared, at least initially, in almost complete isolation. He quite consciously abandons an ideal which, in a commonwealth such as that of the *Contrat social*, would constitute the perfect solution because it appears to him incompatible with the realities of eighteenth-century France and because no community of his own day or of the foreseeable future seems so constituted as to render its realization possible.

Rousseau fully appreciated that his calculated vagueness on the subject of *Emile*'s environment and his refusal to make it conform exactly to the pattern of any one country laid him open to the possible charge of utopianism. He attempted to forestall this objection by stating in his preface that he had steered clear of narrow national or even local peculiarities for the very purpose of not unduly limiting the applicability of his scheme and that it was the task of the individual pedagogue to modify and adapt it to specific circumstances: "Il me suffit que, partout où naîtront des hommes, on puisse en faire ce que je propose" (p. 3). His reflections upon a variety of countries led him, as he explained, to subtract all those features that seemed too distinctive to be regarded as universally human (pp. 305-306). But despite this somewhat artificial procedure, which is characteristic of all his theoretical writings,⁷ there is, as I shall attempt to show, little justification for the belief that the greater part of the ideas contained in *Emile* were not relevant to France in his own day.

This assumption compels us to raise a further point. If indeed his pupil is to live in the environment of his day and age, Rousseau might

⁷ We find a striking parallel in the *Contrat social* in his search for the expression of a general will, which he attempts to discover by subtracting all the particular wills in contradiction with each other from the totality of drives and urges present within the community.

be charged with placing the problem of education in a false perspective, by selecting for his purpose, not a boy in ordinary circumstances, but one of a wealthy and probably noble family likely to find considerably less than average difficulty in making his way in the world. It would, however, be a betrayal of one of the author's most cherished tenets to minimize the significance of his statement that this very heredity constitutes an additional challenge for the educator. Just because he belongs to the upper classes, Emile is not to be raised as a conventional *honnête homme*, with the increasingly superficial connotation then attached to that term, but as a genuinely useful member of society, regardless of what the future may hold in store for him. We see from *Emile et Sophie*, the fragmentary posthumous sequel to Rousseau's treatise, in which his pupil proves worthy of his upbringing even as a slave in a North African road gang, that the author was profoundly serious when he insisted that, just as a systematic education comes into its own only in an organized society, so it is far more important for the scion of a great family than for a boy of humble station who learns the realities of social life even during childhood through bitter experience (p. 27).

Up to this point, it is not too difficult to uphold Rousseau's stand as an educator against his critics. Its greatest weakness lies not so much in the realm of educational theory as in the underlying historical hypothesis to the effect that there was once a presocial "state of nature" in which individuals, except for very occasional contacts with others, chiefly for the purpose of procreation, lived in complete isolation. If we accept this more than controversial premise from the *Discours sur l'inégalité*, Rousseau's conclusion that the individual, in order to be transformed into a social being, must be led along the path which the human race itself has traveled prior to finding its expression in the complex civilization that we see around us, is perfectly sound. The real flaw in Emile's apprenticeship lies, not in Rousseau's aims, but in the belief, which is a direct consequence of the theory just mentioned, that the individual can best be prepared for social life by remaining totally detached from it during his early formative stages. It is here that both common experience and modern educational practice have most decisively parted company with him.

While Rousseau never intended to keep his pupil away from society permanently, his entire pedagogical theory hinges upon the choice of the proper time and the most suitable circumstances for this initiation. Since the intensely individualistic education outlined in the early parts of his treatise finds its counterpart in the, at least theoretical, introduction to citizenship of Book V, it is important to be aware of the main stages of the transformation which Emile has to undergo.⁸ In attempting to resolve the problem which he believes to be the stum-

⁸ The course of this evolution has been indicated by Franz Pahlmann, in *Mensch und Staat bei Rousseau* (Berlin: Ebering, 1939), pp. 124-26.

bling block of conventional educators, namely, how to reconcile the needs of the individual with the requirements of communal living, Rousseau proceeds in an almost physical order, starting with the isolated child. Whereas his contemporaries abortively attempted to combine from the outset the upbringing of the self-centered individual with that of the community-conscious citizen, he proposed to concentrate at first solely on the natural impulses of the individual and, only after these had been fully developed, to undertake their progressive integration in the life of the community. Fully conscious of the magnitude of the task before him, he did not give up the hope that his new approach would lead him to success where his predecessors had failed: "Que deviendra pour les autres un homme uniquement élevé pour lui? Si peut-être le double objet qu'on se propose pouvait se réunir en un seul, en ôtant les contradictions de l'homme on ôterait un grand obstacle à son bonheur" (p. 11).

Rousseau's choice of this new point of departure is further motivated by his conviction that the child must under no circumstances be exposed to the temptation of pursuing his advantage by trampling upon the rights of others, and, until education has consciously built up the appropriate moral safeguards, this purpose can best be achieved by the absence of anyone whom he might find it in his interest to wrong. According to Rousseau's psychology, self-love is the only original mainspring of human conduct (pp. 81, 247), and, in order to avoid giving it improper nourishment in its earliest and unmodified shape, the educator, by means of the famous "negative education," must reconstruct around the child the only environment which will ensure his healthy development, the environment of "natural man." The sole duty of the latter, however, applies to his self-preservation, and the child, being equally self-centered, is able to understand moral concepts, such as justice, only insofar as they are based upon his rights rather than his obligations. Even when Emile, during the years immediately preceding adolescence, makes his first extensive contacts with others, these are properly determined by purely utilitarian and even materialistic considerations, and the boy is taught to appreciate human labor solely from the point of view of genuine usefulness. At this stage, his integrity is preserved by the circumstance that his social relations are carefully maintained at a level where a harmony of interests appears most evident to his still rudimentary understanding. Appreciating from a practical point of view all the material factors implied in human intercourse does not involve any questioning of their justification or any philosophical inquiries into their consequences.

Needless to say, this is by no means sufficient yet to make of Emile even a prospective member of society. But the notion that dominates Rousseau's whole pedagogical thought, namely, that education constantly has to keep in step with the presumed development of the

child's faculties, applies equally to his pupil's deepening understanding of his social ties. The adolescent stage is heralded by the awakening of his imagination, which enables him to broaden the basis of his self-love by a feeling of solidarity with those in whom he recognizes wants and sufferings similar to his own. In bringing his pupil for the first time face to face with all the frailties and failings of men, the author shows how his sensitivity is projected upon them, his social conscience aroused, and he becomes capable of disinterested relationships (pp. 258-59). Even now, however, it is essential that his experience be definitely selective, for while the sight of suffering will humanize him and broaden his sympathies, the view of wealth and splendor could have only the reverse effect, as it is apt to arouse envy and greed in the mind of the immature observer who has not yet learned to see through appearances and to assess correctly the supposed happiness of the rich and powerful.

A full acquaintance with all aspects of life in society will come only with the final stage of *Emile's* education, when at long last he has become capable of passing rational judgments about the world around him. It is one of Rousseau's most original theories that reason, the highest of all human faculties, is the one that matures most slowly and that perhaps the greatest mistake made by earlier educators has been the attempt to make an instrument of education of a faculty that can be only its supreme goal and crowning achievement. This principle is pertinent also to the question of the young man's initiation to social life, for just like the full power of reasoning, the knowledge of mankind, being the peak of all knowledge and far from suitable for study by the child, constitutes the ultimate in insight that a wise man can attain: "*L'homme est la dernière étude du sage, et vous prétendez en faire la première d'un enfant!*" (p. 214).

It is easy to misunderstand the precise significance of the stages outlined by Rousseau, because we are apt to lose sight of his main contention, namely, that in the so-called good education of his day the child is treated merely as a future man and that there has been no recognition of the intrinsic differences between the two. As a matter of fact, his educational program is in the last analysis by no means deliberately anti-social, any more than it is intentionally anti-intellectual. However, the circumstance that both social and intellectual training are introduced only subsequently to the building of other aspects of his pupil's personality does diminish their relative effectiveness, for Rousseau's end is bound to be colored by his means.

Nevertheless, the shift in emphasis becomes apparent in the Fourth Book of *Emile* with the formal assertion: "*Songez que, pour conduire un adulte, il faut prendre le contrepied de tout ce que vous avez fait pour conduire un enfant*" (p. 394). Although referring to the narrower context of sexual education, the statement is equally applicable to all the things which the tutor has heretofore withheld from *Emile*

(e.g., competitive sports, instruction in languages and literature, and visits to the theater), who will now receive much of the traditional instruction of his day and age. The distinction made between the understanding of the child and that of the adult goes far to explain the apparent contradictions between the earlier and the later books of Rousseau's treatise, as well as the fact that at the end *Emile* is described as a far better adjusted member of society than would appear likely to those who remember chiefly the initial stages of his education.

As *Emile* grows into manhood, the teaching of nature is not so much replaced as increasingly reinforced by a second education which has been rendered necessary by the environment in which modern civilized man is destined to live; and, more than anything else, it is the sentimental tie with the woman of his choice that will anchor him firmly to it. In Rousseau's eyes, woman is man's strongest natural link with society, partly because, in a state of mind which is curiously conservative for so radical a thinker and undoubtedly reflects his lack of intimate acquaintance with any child not of his own sex, he never really formulated his own ideas about "natural" woman. As a result, his theory of feminine education remains from the outset firmly ensconced in the social conventions of the time.

In calmly stating that woman's subordination to the authority of her parents, her husband, and public opinion generally is an integral part of the natural order (p. 473), he makes a concession not warranted by his own premises. Owing to his astonishing reluctance to follow through his argument in this vital sphere, he mistakes the social code of his own day for the laws of nature, a circumstance which has an important bearing on his concept of the relationship between *Emile*, the product of his education, and the world at large. Not only does he have to take cognizance of factors of mutual compatibility for which he can find no analogy in the biological drive characteristic of the presocial state and which therefore cannot be controlled by natural education (pp. 514-15), but, furthermore, he has to make the institution of marriage fit the requirements of the formidable hierarchy that constituted such an essential part of the *ancien régime*. Although Rousseau is far from accepting these conventions in toto as positive foundations for the marital relationship, he does recognize them explicitly in a negative way, i.e., as making impracticable any attachment formed in defiance of them. This point of view has been foreshadowed by the second half of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. In *Emile*, too, where marriage is involved, Rousseau readily accepts the practical consequences of a social order to which he no longer subscribes in theory.⁹

In view of these qualifications, the question arises as to how differ-

⁹ See Werner Ziegenfuss, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Eine soziologische Studie* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1952), p. 158.

ent the final product of Rousseau's education will be from the young men raised with the conventional ideas of the better society of his day. At first sight, the latter part of the treatise strikes us by the degree of similarity between Emile's outer manner and the traditional code of the *honnête homme*, such as it had been defined throughout the preceding century: "Loin de choquer les manières des autres, Emile s'y conforme assez volontiers, non pour paraître instruit des usages, ni pour affecter les airs d'un homme poli, mais au contraire de peur qu'on ne le distingue, pour éviter d'être aperçu; et jamais il n'est plus à son aise que quand on ne prend pas garde à lui" (p. 419). But this resemblance is most apparent on the surface, and the *bon usage* which with other young men is usually the entire substance is, in the case of Emile, merely a veneer which he good-naturedly accepts without overestimating its importance; it is essentially the outward expression of that true politeness of the heart that recoils from inflicting pain and that has been inculcated in him since his earliest childhood. He realizes that many of his own values cannot be communicated and that, by attempting to free others from the mistaken notions that have become dear to their hearts, he would merely run the risk of plunging them into a moral vacuum and of depriving them of whatever specious happiness they may at present call their own.

As for Emile himself, he has been educated first and foremost to accept those standards that have the most universal validity, and he must continue to accord priority within the social order to what is basic, without, however, overtly combating the whims of fashion and the prejudices of his age (p. 421). Whereas his own freedom from such prejudices is, in Rousseau's estimate, one of the most rewarding fruits of his education (pp. 212-14), he has been taught to counteract those of his environment merely by his example, and this is one reason for instructing him in a trade that is at once humble and useful, the social implication being clear: "Pour régner par l'opinion, commencez par régner sur elle" (p. 227). The second reason for this choice of occupation is the desire to retain, even among the requirements of community living, a maximum of independence, since it is in the dependence springing from artificially inflated needs that Rousseau sees the most fatal hold gained by society over the individual (p. 69). It is therefore no accident that Emile disdains to enter any of the professions that we associate preëminently with the more complex type of civilization, such as that of merchant, magistrate, or financier. Although the author fully realizes that even those callings for which he prepares his pupil—the cultivation of his own land and the skill of a carpenter—hinge upon human collaboration, it is all a matter of degree, and the activities chosen for Emile are such as to make others more dependent on him than he is on them (p. 226).

In this professional orientation, Rousseau, for the same reason that he conceded the basis of the French economy of his day, sounded a

characteristic note and one that was to prove a powerful catalyst during the last three decades of the *ancien régime*. As he had shown by his own conduct and all of his utterances since the time of his moral "reform," ten years prior to *Emile*, he had been repelled by city life and had come to look upon it, in a sweeping synthesis characteristic of his way of thinking, as both detrimental to the moral stamina of the individual and dangerous to social hygiene. The countryside, which was constantly called upon to replenish the unproductive city population, appeared to be pouring its strength into a bottomless pit, and since a nation's health and vitality were, according to a principle held in common by Rousseau and most of the *philosophes*, to be judged by the criterion of a rising or falling population,¹⁰ it followed logically that Emile's tutor should single out large cities, more than any other aspect of contemporary civilization, as exerting a nefarious and perhaps even fatal influence on national life.

If Emile is discouraged from settling there, this reflects no intention whatsoever of turning him away from social life, but on the contrary is designed to enable him better to fulfill his duty as a member of the community. Such action serves a doubly constructive purpose because, in contributing his share toward reducing the unhealthy atmosphere of city living, Emile simultaneously helps to bring back prosperity to the deserted countryside (p. 606). It is by virtue of his withdrawal from its overpopulated centers that he will retain his faith in humanity, and he may perhaps be called a reformer in the humblest sense of the term because of the good he does for the peasants of the neighborhood and the assistance he offers them in improving their agricultural methods. In the magnificent vision of a reviving countryside that Rousseau transmits to us, he is only expressing more eloquently than any of his contemporaries some of the most widely held aspirations of the last generation of the *ancien régime*, aspirations reminiscent of the concurrent attempts at land reform made by the Physiocrats, at least two of whom, Turgot and the Marquis de Mirabeau, were among his personal friends.¹¹

The sternest reservations which Rousseau makes to Emile's acceptance of contemporary life stem from his keen perception of the decaying structure of feudal society, a perception probably unsurpassed among the major French writers of the age. Without in any way encouraging his pupil to take an active part in modifying the social hierarchy, Rousseau nevertheless endeavors to prepare him for the changes that he feels to be imminent, by stressing the declining pres-

¹⁰ See *Du Contrat social*, ed. Maurice Halbwachs (Paris: Aubier, 1943), pp. 319-20.

¹¹ A similarity in some of the reforms advocated by both Rousseau and the Physiocrats must, of course, not be construed as an indication of identical aims. As opposed to the *philosophes*, the Physiocrats were ultimately interested in increasing agricultural production rather than population, and the precise nature of their program goes far to explain Rousseau's refusal to accept Mirabeau's overtures in 1767. See *Correspondance générale*, XVII, *passim*.

tige of monarchical institutions, which, as he is quick to point out, may well herald their fall (p. 399). The practical conclusion to be drawn from this observation is an increasing emphasis on the importance of the common people and a cultivation of what we would call social consciousness (pp. 265-66). Emile is likely to join the ranks of those liberal aristocrats of the time who, had they been more numerous, might well have prevented the need for the violent explosion that was to follow. This democratic attitude is instilled in the boy for purely selfish reasons also, for, as Rousseau explains in a passage that must have struck readers of the next generation as almost prophetic, so many children of wealthy families eventually have to face poverty that it is well worth the attempt to wean them early from class prejudices (pp. 224-25). Rendering them able to overcome the limitations of their own milieu will have the desired effect of making them adaptable to change, as they had better be, "vu la mobilité des choses humaines, vu l'esprit inquiet et remuant de ce siècle qui bouleverse tout à chaque génération" (p. 13).

Rousseau himself clearly distinguishes between social man living among his equals and man as an active member of the state, and it does not necessarily follow from the facts so far established that Emile will be called upon to show public spirit and to cherish his country. At the outset of his treatise, Rousseau expresses the view that in his own day the concepts of fatherland and citizen have lost their real significance, meaning that individuals as such, unlike the members of certain ancient commonwealths, do not share in the sovereign power. However, he immediately qualifies this assertion by pointing out that it is irrelevant to the task before the educator (p. 10), and in practice he is far from denying the existence of a bond of obligation tying the individual to the political entity of which he forms a part. The initiation to this relationship, which follows logically from the place occupied by the individual within the family, is an integral part of the educational process, but is quite distinct from both his biological function as a parent and his integration into social life (p. 23). Just like marriage, this is a juncture where the guidance of nature is no longer adequate, for she has equipped man only for those tasks that fall upon him in the presocial state, and under his tutor's direction Emile has to undergo a further complete apprenticeship (p. 571).

It must be admitted that this systematic introduction to citizenship, which takes up most of the concluding pages of the work, begins with a rather startling assumption that is undoubtedly colored by the writer's simultaneous preoccupation with the *Contrat social*. Rousseau's contention, quite contrary to the ideas of his time and somewhat controversial even today, is that when the young man has attained full possession of his reasoning powers, he is entitled and even obliged to examine the constitutional basis of the country where he has lived so far, with a view to ascertaining whether it conforms to his per-

sonal needs and aspirations (p. 581). Emile, in other words, is granted the right to emigrate and join whatever commonwealth he chooses. But the question seems to be raised primarily for dialectical purposes, and in practice the alternatives offered are immaterial, because he will soon discover that none of the political bodies he examines are theoretically perfect and he will therefore renew his allegiance to the country of his birth. As a matter of fact, this is more than a *pis aller*, for in return for the protection and security offered him, he contracts not only a physical, but a moral, debt: the very flaws in his country's government and constitution give him an opportunity to develop his moral fiber by exchanging the outwardly unfettered condition of presocial man for a far more lofty inner freedom, because he now has to master his natural impulses in the higher interests of the community (p. 605).¹²

We are here at the heart of one of Rousseau's most significant doctrines, namely, that the state is not primarily designed to promote the happiness of the individual, but to further his moral growth. Although the countries of Rousseau's experience—the only ones with which young Emile can be concerned—do not achieve this aim in the same positive way as the ideal state of the *Contrat social*, they do so in a negative manner, by making him submit to the supreme test of self-discipline, which alone can convert the spontaneous and morally indifferent reactions of presocial man into conscious virtue.¹³ The final lesson which Rousseau conveys to his reader is distinctly one of acceptance of all the duties placed upon the citizen, and while he himself may for a time have harbored more revolutionary designs, the concluding pages of *Emile* make it apparent that by now he has realized the futility of injecting any such intentions into the educational process.

Up to this point Rousseau has described the cultivation of his pupil's social potentialities as being closely linked to the famous progressive education of his faculties, but the young man's development is not quite completed when he has learned to find his proper place within the community. Just as the social being evolves from the isolated child and the citizen from the husband and father, the circumscribed limits of national allegiance are gradually made to recede in favor of the more inclusive consciousness of being a member of the human race. The foundation for this process has been laid much earlier by the tutor's constant refusal to sacrifice broadly human considerations to his pupil's narrower ties with his immediate environment (see pp.

¹² See Francisque Vial, *La Doctrine d'éducation de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris: Delagrave, 1920), p. 90: "C'est ainsi que la liberté civile, en nous enseignant à obéir à la loi, à prendre pour règle de nos actes un principe plus haut que notre intérêt ou notre plaisir, nous arrache à l'empire du pur instinct, nous apprend à commander à nos passions, et par là nous élève jusqu'à la liberté morale, ou autrement dit, jusqu'à la vertu."

¹³ See Robert Dérathé, *Le Rationalisme de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1948), pp. 112-17.

276, 303), but it occupies the center of the stage only during the final phase of his education. This is aptly terminated by a journey across Europe, where Emile will come to know men who are not his compatriots in the strict sense of the term and will be inoculated against national prejudices by having an opportunity to find out for himself that all governments have their defects and all men their virtues (p. 602).

This appeal to a cosmopolitan point of view follows logically from the values instilled by his earlier upbringing, and while, in a way, he is merely undertaking the traditional *grand tour* of the young gentleman of the period, its effects will be quite different on him from what they are on those who are only exposed to additional temptations by an experience from which they have not been previously trained to derive the proper advantage (p. 580). It is not our task to decide here whether the way shown by Rousseau is intrinsically sound from a pedagogical point of view; it suffices to note that his mouthpiece, the tutor, sums up in his final speech all the essential duties that fall to the individual as a member of the family, the state, and the human race (pp. 605-607). If this conclusion is not necessarily the psychological outcome of Emile's training, it is at least the lesson that the author wishes to convey and that has been in some measure prepared throughout the preceding books of the treatise.

Nevertheless, one final question remains to be settled. While Rousseau was preparing *Emile* for the press, he was also working on the *Contrat social*, and the two undertakings were so closely linked in his mind that, at a time when he was not certain of being able to conclude the latter work, he decided to insert a brief résumé of his political theories in the former.¹⁴ As we have seen, he finds some justification for interesting the young man in political theory, and this interest is surely not designed to lure him away from the communities of his own day in order to pursue a utopia existing only in the author's imagination. Still, we cannot help feeling that there probably is a connection between Rousseau's ideally educated pupil and the citizens of the political ideal he proposed, and this bond is no less real for being only implied.

As early as 1912, in his article on "L'Unité de la pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau," Gustave Lanson pointed out that the social contract was likely to be put into effect progressively as an ever-increasing number of right-minded individuals, such as Emile, made their personal contribution to the grand total of a general will that was yet to be born; according to Rousseau, no constitution based on liberty and equality could dispense with that restoration of natural man within the creature of civilization that had been the prime purpose

¹⁴ See pp. 585-96. On the question of the relationship existing between the *Contrat social* and the résumé of it contained in *Emile*, see C. W. Hendel, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Moraliste* (London and New York, 1934), II, 170-73.

of Emile's education.¹⁵ This point has been elaborated upon by more recent students of Rousseau's thought, emphasis being placed on the close analogy existing between the way in which Emile as an individual progresses from the freedom of the child of nature, restrained only by the laws of necessity, to a higher moral freedom through conscious submission to man-made law, and the formation of the community in the *Contrat social*, where freedom under law is established by a very similar ostensible renunciation of the individual's "natural" rights.¹⁶

The parallel culminates in Emile's relationship with his tutor, which is consecrated by what Rousseau explicitly refers to as a contract (p. 405) and distinctly foreshadows the one between sovereign people and legislator in his political treatise.¹⁷ As is abundantly clear to any reader of *Emile*, the tutor must be as nearly perfect and godlike as the legislator, and yet, in both instances, absolute authority is equally far from tyranny. The tutor's presence no more curtails his pupil's self-determination than the authority of the legislator does that of the sovereign people, for the young man's enlightened reason will always be appealed to as a final tribunal, and Rousseau's psychologically questionable assumption is simply that in the last analysis the two will inevitably agree. The definition he gives of the legislator's functions bears a striking resemblance to those of the tutor as they emerge from his treatise on education:

Celui qui ose entreprendre d'instituer un peuple doit se sentir en état de changer, pour ainsi dire, la nature humaine; de transformer chaque individu, qui par lui-même est un tout parfait et solitaire, en partie d'un plus grand tout dont cet individu reçoit en quelque sorte sa vie et son être; d'altérer la constitution de l'homme pour la renforcer; de substituer une existence partielle et morale à l'existence physique et indépendante que nous avons tous reçue de la nature.¹⁸

The concept of this relationship in *Emile*, which a recent interpreter of that work, André Ravier, has aptly called a pedagogical pact,¹⁹ rests in its simplest form on the recognition that the freedom which is every man's most precious possession cannot be entrusted to the management of his impulses, however natural and intrinsically innocent they may be, but has to be vested in a higher agency, gov-

¹⁵ *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Geneva: Jullian), VIII, 22.

¹⁶ Déraethé, pp. 124-25.

¹⁷ Of course, it should be noted that the social contract proper is not a contract between the people and the legislator any more than between the people and the government, but rather between the people as individuals with divergent interests and the people as members of the collective sovereign body that comes into existence by their common aspirations and expresses itself in the general will (see *Contrat social*, p. 92). But then the tutor is merely a moderator between Emile's spontaneous and perhaps irrational urges, comparable to the individuals of the *Contrat*, and his mature thought, corresponding to the general will.

¹⁸ *Contrat social*, p. 180.

¹⁹ *L'Éducation de l'homme nouveau: Essai historique et critique sur le livre de l'Emile de J.-J. Rousseau* (Lyons: Bosc, 1941), II, 373-75.

erned only by reason and detached from the pressures of the moment. By virtue of this discipline, all Rousseau's heroes, be they those of *Emile* or of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, evolve as potentially suitable citizens of his ideal commonwealth, for the experiences through which the author has led them prepare them for a whole-hearted acceptance of the pact concept. This is true in the case of Sophie, where the notion of the infallible general will of the *Contrat*, as opposed to the will of individuals that may err in the choice of means proposed or in the interpretation of the *volonté générale*, is virtually present in the speech of her father when the contingency of marriage comes up for discussion: "L'époux qui vous convient doit être de votre choix et non pas du nôtre. Mais c'est à nous de juger si vous ne vous trompez pas sur les convenances, et si, sans le savoir, vous ne faites point autre chose que ce que vous voulez" (p. 508). If we turn to Rousseau's other relevant work, the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, we find the same idea expressed in the prayer with which Julie, on the threshold of marriage, entrusts the government of her future conduct to God.²⁰

In both instances, we are confronted with the identical basic situation of an individual having essentially the right orientation, but requiring guidance in order to escape the snare of ill-advised momentary impulses that might shake his purpose of adhering steadfastly to the right and true purpose of his existence. Emile, however, is the one who has advanced farthest toward the fulfillment of this goal. Sophie will falter when her parents are gone, and only death will save Julie from the danger of a second fall, whereas Rousseau's treatise on education concludes logically at the precise moment when the young man has at length developed a supreme legislator within himself, who will enable him to dispense with the tutor's further supervision. This, indeed, is as close as we ever come to putting into effect the conditions of the *Contrat social*. It does not, for the present, modify in any way the relationship between Emile and the outside world in which he is destined to live, but should the occasion arise, it will find him supremely well prepared to accept the changes that will have to be brought about if Rousseau's great political dream is to come true.

Far from depicting in the person of his pupil a man fit to live only in a perfect society, it is Rousseau's avowed purpose to outline the *morale provisoire* of the regenerated individual, living in the community and willing to accept its responsibilities, as long as the world is more or less what it is. The date of the work explains why today, when the decadent feudalism of Rousseau's time is a thing of the past, the earlier and justly famous pages of *Emile*, which describe the fundamentals of an education in conformity with human nature as Rousseau saw it, communicate a more vital and enduring message,

²⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, VIII, 524.

whereas the latter books of his treatise would have to be written somewhat differently. They would, however, still require writing because the way of the world can never be wholly acceptable to the individual in search of the fullest expression of his potentialities.

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A NOTE ON ELDA BOSSI

If literary activity in contemporary Italy may be described as a "little renaissance"—and it is so described in some circles—it must merit that dignified title more by the work of such writers as Elda Bossi, relatively unknown to American readers, than by the works of such men as Moravia, Malaparte, and Soldati, whose books are rather widely read in translation. For if we exclude writers of such distinction as Silone, Pavese, and Levi, the current American translations from contemporary Italian literature do not indicate anything even remotely approaching a "little renaissance"; but if to the writers of merit noted above could be added half a dozen authors of the caliber of Signora Bossi—or Carlo Cassola—then one might indeed speak seriously of a little revival in Italian letters.

It is to be deeply regretted that only one of Elda Bossi's major works is available in translation. (We could well spare *A Woman of Rome* for her delightful *I Poveri*!) Now in mid-career, Signora Bossi, mother of several children, has produced two volumes of distinguished verse (*L'ora Bianca* and *Poesia Nuda*), two major prose works (*Bimba con fiore in mano* and *I poveri*, the former published in translation by Macmillan in 1954), nine juveniles, and translations from Euripides, Catullus, the Chanson de Roland, Maeterlinck, J. M. Barrie, Thackeray, and Lewis Carroll. Quantitatively an imposing achievement; but it is the quality of her verse and major prose works that impresses one—a quality that I can best describe as sane artistry. Reflecting upon her training of her first child, she confesses that a tutor, looking at her objectively, may well find the girl ill-mannered. And then she adds, "A fact not to be unduly deplored, if I have taught her to feel, to enjoy, to love; for these things matter."

Precisely! Elda Bossi's vision of life is aesthetic and rooted in the conviction that one who is aesthetically right cannot be morally wrong: to feel, to enjoy, to love! She writes as a Mother, and Creation is her larger theme. Within its framework she probes the lesser themes: the presence of Evil, the insistent and unanswered *Why*; the miracles of Life and Death; the common source of opposites: pleasure and pain, love and hate, matter and spirit; the identity of work and play; the microcosmic character of the simplest birth. She explores these themes with confidence, with wisdom, with a masculine vigor, nourished by a rooted faith in the proposition that "toil and maternity are Nature's great imperatives; and obedience to Nature's imperatives is always a source of joy." An exquisite talent, both in prose and verse, spent upon these themes, cannot help but make for sane artistry.

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HERMANN HESSE'S *STEPPENWOLF* A SONATA IN PROSE

By THEODORE ZIOLKOWSKI

The critical and popular reception of Hesse's *Steppenwolf*, when it appeared in 1927, was so hostile that the author felt himself obliged to defend his book a good many times in letters to friends and readers. Again and again he protested that the novel is in no way a betrayal of the positive values which he had always expounded in his life and works, and he pointed out repeatedly that the book achieves a structural perfection which equals, if not surpasses, that of his other works.

Subsequent scholarship has substantiated Hesse's contention that the novel fits organically into the entire pattern of his thought and that it does not represent a defection from his earlier beliefs. But little or nothing has been done to demonstrate that his insistence upon the structural quality of his book is valid.

Among the many passages in which Hesse remonstrates against the criticism of formlessness in the novel, the following is one of the most interesting: "Rein künstlerisch ist der 'Steppenwolf' mindestens so gut wie 'Goldmund', er ist um das Intermezzo des Traktats herum so streng und straff gebaut wie eine Sonate und greift sein Thema reinlich an."¹

The present analysis of the structure of the novel can begin with Hesse's own analogy of the sonata, but for the moment it will be permissible to regard this analogy simply as a symbol of strict form in general. It will be our task to discover whether and, if so, precisely in what way Hesse was justified in comparing his novel to a form which represents the highest in musical structure.

I

Confusing upon first perusal is the apparent lack of external structure in *Steppenwolf*: for instance, the absence of the customary division into parts and chapters. Instead, we are presented with a running record of a phantasmagoria of events, interrupted toward the beginning by an apparently incongruous document called "Traktat vom Steppenwolf" and introduced by the remarks of a minor figure who appears in the story itself. But if we look for internal structure, we see that the book falls naturally into three main sections: the preliminary material, the action, and the so-called "magic theater."

The preliminary material, in turn, has three subdivisions: the introduction, the opening passages of the book itself, and the "Traktat." These three subdivisions are not involved directly in the action or plot of the novel; they are all introductory in nature. This fact dis-

¹ Hermann Hesse, *Briefe* (Berlin, 1951), p. 34; or *Gesammelte Schriften* (Suhrkamp Verlag, 1957), VII, 495—hereafter cited as *GS*.

tinguishes them from the second and longest part of the book, which tells the story and which alone of the three main sections has a form analogous to the structure of the conventional novel. It relates action covering roughly a month, and it is essentially a straightforward narrative. The third section, finally, sets itself apart from the bulk of the novel by virtue of its fantastic elements: it belongs, properly speaking, to the action of the novel, for it depicts a situation which takes place in the early hours of the day following the final scene of the plot, and there is no technical division whatsoever. But the conscious divorce from all reality separates this section from the realistic narrative of the second part.

Beginning with this rough outline, we can proceed to bring some order into the work. The introduction is written by a young man who is revealed as a typical bourgeois both by his own words and by the brief mention he receives in the book itself. The function of this introduction is twofold: to explain the circumstances regarding the publication of the book and to portray the central figure through the eyes of a typical "Bürger." The young man is the nephew of the lady from whom a certain Harry Haller rents an apartment upon his arrival in the (unnamed) city. The date of Haller's arrival in the house is given as several years prior to the writing of the introduction, and it is stated that Haller lived in the house for nine or ten months. For the most part the strange tenant lived quietly in his rooms, surrounded by books, empty wine bottles, and overflowing ashtrays. However, toward the end of his stay he underwent a profound change in conduct and appearance, followed then by a period of extreme depression. Shortly thereafter he departed without farewells, leaving behind nothing but a manuscript which the young man now chooses to publish as "ein Dokument der Zeit" (205),² for in retrospect he discerns that the affliction which disturbed Haller was symptomatic of the times, and not simply the malady of an individual.

Yet more important than this external information is the view of Haller which we receive through the eyes of a young member of the bourgeoisie before we ever meet him in his own manuscript. The editor, by his own admission, is "ein bürgerlicher, regelmäßig lebender Mensch, an Arbeit und genaue Zeiteinteilung gewohnt" (196); he drinks nothing stronger than mineral water and abhors tobacco; he feels uncomfortable in the presence of illness, whether physical or mental; and he is inclined to be suspicious of anything which does not correspond to the facts of ordinary existence as he knows it. Haller offends all of these sensibilities and many others. He makes it clear that Haller was by no means a man congenial to his own temperament: "Ich . . . fühle mich durch ihn, durch die bloße Existenz

² All page references to *Steppenwolf* are taken from Vol. IV of Hesse's *Gesammelte Dichtungen* ([Frankfurt am Main]: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1952)—hereafter cited as *GD*.

eines solchen Wesens, im Grunde gestört und beunruhigt, obwohl er mir geradezu lieb geworden ist" (189-190).

Yet despite his bourgeois inhibitions the young man is portrayed as an intelligent and reliable observer. His affection and interest allow him to perceive the conflict which disturbs Haller:

In dieser Periode kam mir mehr und mehr zum Bewußtsein, daß die Krankheit dieses Leidenden nicht auf irgendwelchen Mängeln seiner Natur beruhe, sondern im Gegenteil nur auf dem nicht zur Harmonie gelangten großen Reichtum seiner Gaben und Kräfte. (193)

He reveals for the first time in the course of the book the arbitrary dichotomy into *Steppenwolf* and *Bürger*, by which Haller chooses to designate the two polar aspects of his personality. The introduction, then, states the two conflicting themes and, without full comprehension of their meaning, portrays Haller in both capacities. The young man narrates the facts of Haller's life without ascribing to them the import which they assume in Haller's own mind.

The opening pages of the manuscript itself recount one typical evening in the life of the 48-year-old *littérateur* Harry Haller. In atrabilious words he portrays his state of mind, his beliefs and goals, his erratic existence up to the present date. His remarks actually parallel the comments of the introduction, and in many cases the specific events mentioned are identical in both sections. But Haller's remarks are on a different plane: whereas the introduction depicted him externally from the bourgeois standpoint, we now meet him psychologically as he elects to think of himself, and we feel the full effect of his ambivalent attitude toward the bourgeoisie. He acknowledges that he is out of place in normal society, and he leads the life of a lone wolf, always on the fringe of humanity. Yet he is beset by a continual yearning for all that has been left behind:

Ich weiß nicht, wie das zugeht, aber ich, der heimatlose *Steppenwolf* und einsame *Hasser* der kleinbürgerlichen Welt, ich wohne immerzu in richtigen Bürgerhäusern, das ist eine alte Sentimentalität von mir. Ich wohne weder in Palästen noch in Proletarierhäusern, sondern ausgerechnet stets in diesen hochanständigen, hochlangweiligen, tadellos gehaltenen Kleinbürgernestern.... Ich liebe diese Atmosphäre ohne Zweifel aus meinen Kinderzeiten her, und meine heimliche Sehnsucht nach so etwas wie Heimat führt mich, hoffnungslos, immer wieder diese alten dummen Wege. (210)

The conflict is elucidated with many pertinent examples as Haller contemplates his existence and its value in the course of an evening walk.

These speculations are interrupted by the interpolation of the "*Tractat*," a document which Haller acquires on this walk and takes home to read. Since the "*Tractat*" is of central importance in the novel, it is necessary to recall briefly how it comes into Haller's hands. Wandering down a familiar alley that evening, he perceives a previously unnoticed doorway in the wall. Above the door is affixed

a placard on which he is able to make out the fleeting, almost illegible words:

Magisches Theater
Eintritt nicht für jedermann
—nicht für jedermann.
(215)

As he steps closer, the evanescent words vanish, but he glimpses a few letters which seem to dance across the wet pavement: "Nur—für—Ver—rückte!" After a time Haller proceeds to his restaurant, still musing over the significance of the queer letters he had seen or imagined. Out of curiosity, he passes back through the same alley later in the night and notes that the door and sign are no longer there. Suddenly a man emerges from a side street, trudging wearily and bearing a placard. Haller calls to him and asks to be shown the sign. Again he discerns "tanzende, taumelnde Buchstaben" (222):

Anarchistische Abendunterhaltung
Magisches Theater
Eintritt nicht für jed. . .
(223)

But when he greets the bearer and seeks further information, the man mutters indifferently, hands him a small pamphlet, and disappears into a doorway. Upon his return home Haller sees that the pamphlet is entitled "Tractat vom Steppenwolf." At this point its text follows.

This "Tractat," as Haller reads to his astonishment, offers still a third description of Harry Haller, the Steppenwolf. Whereas the first represented the objective but superficial impressions of a typical Bürger, and the second the subjective interpretation of the subject himself, this third depiction is the observation of a higher intelligence which is able to view Haller perspectively *sub specie aeternitatis*.

The "Tractat," in essence, makes a distinction between three types of beings, differentiated relatively according to their degree of individuation. The remarkable cosmology which is developed here can best be visualized by the analogy of a sphere situated on an axis whose poles represent the opposite concepts of nature and spirit. The center of the sphere, as the point farthest removed from all extremes, is the bourgeois ego; the cosmic regions outside the sphere, on the other hand, are inhabited by the "tragic natures" or "Immortals" who have transcended the narrow bourgeois concept of egoism and have burst forth into the cosmos by embracing a belief in the fundamental unity of life. They are aware of the fact that supreme existence consists in the recognition and acceptance of all aspects of life, and this attitude demands transcendence of the ego in the bourgeois sense. In order to preserve his "Ich," his ego, the Bürger must resist every impulse to lose himself in extremes: he must sway toward neither pole; he wishes to be neither profligate nor saint. Moreover, in maintaining this position of moderation, the Bürger assumes a definite

standpoint with regard to the world, relative to which certain of its polar opposites must be condemned as evil.

Thus, for the Bürger, whose very way of life requires the utmost order in the world, the opposite extreme of disorder or chaos must be anathema. The Immortals, on the contrary, accept chaos as the natural state of existence, for they inhabit a realm where all polarity has ceased and where every manifestation of life is approved as necessary and good. In their eyes the polarity of nature and spirit does not exist, for their cosmos is expansive enough to encompass all of the apparent polar extremes in the Bürger's limited sphere.³

If the Immortals and the Bürger represent the two extremes in Hesse's scale of individuation, the Steppenwolf occupies a tenuous and anomalous perch between them:

Prüfen wir daraufhin die Seele des Steppenwolfs, so stellt er sich dar als ein Mensch, den schon sein hoher Grad von Individuation zum Nichtbürger bestimmt —denn alle hochgetriebene Individuation kehrt sich gegen das Ich und neigt wieder zu dessen Zerstörung. (238)

Yet not every person of this nature is strong enough to transcend the *principium individuationis* completely: many are destined to remain in the world of the Bürger despite their longing for the reaches of the cosmos. If we adapt this fact to the sphere-image, we must place the Steppenwolf in an orbit within the sphere, cruising close to the surface, but never penetrating into the cosmos for more than a brief, tantalizing moment. The fact that he belongs to neither realm completely accounts for the Steppenwolf's dissatisfaction with existence and demonstrates why Harry Haller, the case in point, can find no satisfactory solution to his dilemma and often contemplates suicide.

The "Tractat" goes on to point out that only humor⁴ can make it possible for the Steppenwolf to exist peacefully in a world whose values he despises:

In der Welt zu leben, als sei es nicht die Welt, das Gesetz zu achten und doch über ihm zu stehen, zu besitzen, "als besäße man nicht", zu verzichten, als sei es kein Verzicht—alle diese beliebten und oft formulierten Forderungen einer hohen Weisheit ist einzig der Humor zu verwirklichen fähig. (240)

But humor in this sense is possible only if the individual has resolved the conflicts in his own soul, and this resolution is the result of self-recognition. To this end the "Tractat" mentions three contingencies for Haller:

Möglich, daß er eines Tages sich erkennen lernt, sei es, daß er einen unsrer kleinen Spiegel in die Hand bekomme, sei es, daß er den Unsterblichen begegne oder vielleicht in einem unsrer magischen Theater dasjenige finde, wessen er zur Befreiung seiner verwahrlosten Seele bedarf. (241)

³ This concept of chaos is explained more programmatically in Hesse's essay volume *Blick ins Chaos* (1920); cf. GS, VII, 161-86.

⁴ It is immediately apparent that the attitude which Hesse defines here as "humor" is identical with "romantic irony." Interestingly enough, Novalis also refers to it as "Humor"; cf. *Blütenstaub* 29.

Thus the "Tractat" proposes a reconciliation of the conflicting themes which have been discussed. If Harry Haller can peer deep into the chaos of his own soul by any of the suggested means, then he will be able to live happily in the world or even dare to make "den Sprung ins Weltall" (240)—to join the Immortals. The final section of the "Tractat" explains, however, that this is a more difficult task than Harry had previously imagined, for his personality comprises not only the two conflicting poles which he had named, but literally thousands of divergent aspects which cry for recognition.

It becomes clear that the "Tractat" is ostensibly the work of the Immortals, for no one else could have this lofty and all-encompassing view of the world. Thus it represents a study of Haller from still a third standpoint. If we pause now to survey the preliminary material of the novel, a pattern seems to emerge. These three sections (introduction, the opening pages of the manuscript, and "Tractat") present three treatments of the conflicting themes in Haller's soul, as perceived respectively from the three points of view outlined in the theoretical tract: Bürger—Steppenwolf—Immortals. The introduction states the two themes theoretically; the second section brings the development in which the significance of these themes for Haller's life is interpreted; and the "Tractat" recapitulates the themes, theoretically again, and proposes a resolution of the conflict. But this scheme, exposition—development—recapitulation, can be found in any book of music theory under the heading "sonata-form" or "first-movement form," for it is the classical structure for the opening section of the sonata.

The terms "sonata" and "sonata-form" are two of the most confusing designations in music theory, for the latter does not refer to the form of the former. The sonata is a generic name for any major composition of one to four movements, of which one (usually the first) must be in "sonata-form." If the composition is written for piano, it is a piano sonata; if written for orchestra, it is called a symphony; and so forth. The term which interests us here, "sonata-form," refers to the structure of the first movement alone. The exposition states two themes with one in the tonic, the other in the dominant; the development follows in which the potentialities of these themes are worked out; and the recapitulation restates the themes as they occurred in the exposition, but this time both are in the tonic; the conflict has been resolved.

In the novel the difference in keys is approximated by the contrasting attitudes of Harry Haller as Steppenwolf, on the one hand, and as Bürger, on the other: the first represents, as it were, the tonic, and the second the dominant. The ABA structure of the sonata, which is achieved through the general repetition of the exposition in the recapitulation, is imitated by Hesse insofar as the exposition and recapitulation are views of Haller from the outside and are largely

theoretical; this gives them the effect of unity. The development, however, differs from these in tone and style since it is written by Haller himself, and it stresses the practical significance of the two themes for his own life. The resolution of the tonic and dominant in the recapitulation is an obvious parallel to the proposed reconciliation of Steppenwolf and Bürger in Harry Haller. In view of this rather close correspondence between the musical form and the first part of *Steppenwolf*, it seems safe to assert that the preliminary material of the novel reveals "first-movement form." And in view of Hesse's chosen analogy, it would not be unreasonable to assume that this structure is a conscious one.

In case this assertion seems to force one art-form willfully into the Procrustean bed of another, it might be mentioned in passing that "first-movement form" has been applied to various literary genres before now. Otto Ludwig, in his essay on "Allgemeine Form der Shakespearischen Komposition,"⁵ evolves a general structural tendency in Shakespeare's plays which he compares to sonata-form. Oskar Walzel, ever the advocate of "wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste," suggests that the same application can be made to certain poems.⁶ H. A. Basilius has shown that Thomas Mann's *Tonio Kröger* is consciously constructed according to the pattern of sonata-form;⁷ and Calvin S. Brown, in *Music and Literature: A Comparison of the Arts*, devotes an entire chapter to the analysis of literary works—mainly poems—which employ this structure more or less successfully.⁸

On the other hand, there have been objections to the application of musical form to literary works, and one of the most lucid and convincing of these is stated in *Theory of Literature* by René Wellek and Austin Warren (New York, 1949). With regard to romantic notions concerning musical form, the authors contend that "blurred outlines, vagueness of meaning, and illogicality are not, in a literal sense, 'musical' at all" (126). But we have seen that Hesse presents his material clearly, is specific in meaning, and proceeds according to a highly logical system. Wellek and Warren go on to say:

Literary imitations of musical structures like leitmotiv, the sonata, or symphonic form seem to be more concrete; but it is hard to see why repetitive motifs or a certain contrasting and balancing of moods, though by avowed intention imitative of musical composition, are not essentially the familiar literary devices of recurrence, contrast, and the like which are common to all the arts. (126)

⁵ Otto Ludwig, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Adolf Stern (Leipzig, 1891), V, 89-91.

⁶ Oskar Walzel, *Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1923), pp. 351-54. All of Chapter XIV, "Dichtkunst und Musik," is of interest in this connection.

⁷ H. A. Basilius, "Thomas Mann's Use of Musical Structure and Techniques in *Tonio Kröger*," *Germanic Review*, XIX (1944), 284-308.

⁸ Calvin S. Brown, "Sonata Form," *Music and Literature: A Comparison of the Arts* (Athens, Georgia, 1948), pp. 161-77. This is unquestionably the most comprehensive and most perceptive book on the subject; it is regrettable that it does not include a historical survey of critical theory regarding the relationship of the two arts.

Yet Hesse, though he makes ample use of the leitmotiv, depends neither upon this nor upon contrast in order to produce his musical effect; he is not concerned with vague synesthesia. Rather, he has devised a novel which consciously adheres to the rigid structure of "sonata-form," and the other musical devices which he employs are merely embellishments within the entire framework. Thus the criticism, which is justifiable with regard to many so-called "musical" works of literature, is not applicable in the case of *Steppenwolf*.

II

Before going on to the second part, we must pause to consider a matter which contains the key to the entire work: the question of double perception.

In the "Tractat" we read: "Und dies alles ist dem Steppenwolf, auch wenn er niemals diesen Abriß seiner innern Biographie zu Gesicht bekommt, sehr wohl bekannt. Er ahnt seine Stellung im Weltgebäude, er ahnt und kennt die Unsterblichen..." (241). This seems to suggest a satisfactory solution to the mystery of the "Tractat." The device of causing a figure in a novel to read his own biography, written by some unknown hand, is an approved romantic practice,⁹ and Hesse is certainly an heir of romanticism. Yet it must not be forgotten that up to this point the entire work has taken place on the level of everyday reality. Why should there be this sudden intrusion of the supernatural? Is it not more reasonable to assume that Haller himself reads this strange message into the text of the pamphlet since it is all familiar to him? This is an intriguing speculation, but it requires substantiation.

In his essay "Vom Bücherlesen" (1920) Hesse considers three types of readers. The first type is the naïve person who accepts the book and its story objectively; the second type comprises those who read with the imagination of a child and comprehend the hundreds of symbolic connotations latent in every word and image. But the third reader is one who uses the book simply as a *terminus a quo*: on this level

lesen wir ja überhaupt nicht mehr, was vor uns auf dem Papier steht, sondern schwimmen im Strom der Anregungen und Einfälle, die uns aus dem Gelesenen zukommen. Sie können aus dem Text kommen, sie können sogar nur aus den Schriftbildern entstehen. Das Inserat einer Zeitung kann zur Offenbarung werden.¹⁰

This delightful conceit is not the whim of an instant; it is a recurrent theme in Hesse's works. An example can be found, for instance, as much as ten years later in *Narziss und Goldmund* (1930). After his rude awakening by Narziß, Goldmund lives in a new world:

Ein lateinisches Initial wurde zum duftenden Gesicht der Mutter, ein langge-

⁹ Cf. the Provençal manuscript examined by the hero in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, Chap. 5. Hesse knows Novalis extremely well.

¹⁰ *Betrachtungen* (Berlin, 1928), p. 164; or *GS*, VII, 245.

zogener Ton im Ave zum Paradiestor, ein griechischer Buchstabe zum rennenden Pferd, zur bäumenden Schlange, still wälzt sie sich unter Blumen davon, und schon stand an ihrer Stelle wieder die starre Seite der Grammatik.¹¹

In the light of this idea, why should the action in *Steppenwolf* not be construed similarly? Let us briefly reconstruct the scene. In a fit of depression Haller goes out for his evening stroll; he is willing to grasp eagerly after any ray of hope which would alleviate his desperate condition. Thus, when he notices a smudge or crack in the wall of the alley, set off by the sparkle of the damp plaster, his overwrought mind reads an imaginary message in fleeting letters. In the course of the evening he consumes a considerable portion of wine: "Ich brauchte keinen Wein mehr. Die goldne Spur war aufgeblitzt, ich war ans Ewige erinnert, an Mozart, an die Sterne" (219). In this inebriated and rhapsodic state he meets a weary placard-bearer, fortuitously, in the same fateful alley. But the tired worker, anxious to get rid of the troublesome drunk, brusquely shoves a pamphlet into his hands—any pamphlet—which Haller's acrobatic and stimulated mind converts, at home, into the "Tractat." These are essential thoughts from a remote and more perceptive area of Haller's intelligence—an area which is usually blocked by the problematics of his dual personality and the exigencies of his existence. Here, for an instant, his higher acumen seeps through.

This concept of double perception plays an increasingly important role in the novel, for it is necessary throughout the remainder of the book to make a clear distinction between two levels of reality: the everyday plane of the Bürger or the placard-bearer, and the exalted, supernal plane of the Immortals and the magic theater. Haller might be called an eidetic, i.e., "an individual capable of producing subjective (visual or other) images or 'Anschauungsbilder' of virtually hallucinatory vividness."¹² Accordingly, his experiences on the upper level of reality assume fully as much intensity for him as the action on the level of mundane reality.

Here again we are concerned with a highly musical device corresponding closely to counterpoint, which the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* defines as "the combination into a single musical fabric of lines or parts which have distinctive melodic significance."¹³ By means of double perception almost any given action of the book may be interpreted on two distinct levels, and this produces the effect of simultaneity or concomitance of the two planes or melodic lines. This particular device comes much closer to the musical concept of *Point Counter Point* than the technique employed, for instance, by Aldous Huxley in his novel of that title or by André Gide or by many of their

¹¹ *GD*, V, 67.

¹² Walter Silz, "Otto Ludwig and the Process of Creation," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 873-74. With reference to Ludwig and to Heine, Silz points out that narcotics can stimulate and accelerate these visions; see footnote 90, p. 874. This might be borne in mind for the discussion of the "magic theater" in *Steppenwolf*.

¹³ Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 189.

imitators. The latter achieve their effect by the sudden juxtaposition of various moods and points of view, but Hesse consciously attempts to produce authentic counterpoint by bringing the two lines of action into play at the same time.

In his chapter on "Timbre, Harmony, and Counterpoint," Calvin S. Brown denies the possibility of true counterpoint in literature, but he cites the literary pun as the closest approach. The limiting element in the case of the pun is the fact that we have "not two things, but one word with different relationships."¹⁴ On the basis of this parallel, it might be stated that double perception achieves the effect of a sustained pun, and the interplay of the two levels of reality produces a genuine contrapuntal effect. If this is not precisely what is understood by the musical concept of counterpoint, it at least represents an advance beyond any previous literary counterpart.

III

The second and longest part of *Steppenwolf* might be called Harry Haller's *Lehrjahre*, and it is interesting to note that the verbs "lernen" and "lehren" actually occur scores of times in this section of the book. Here Haller learns to accept many facets of life which certain inhibitions of his personality had previously caused him to reject; he discovers to his astonishment that the poles of his being are not so irreconcilable as he had imagined. This phase of Haller's education is rather elementary: it is kept on the level of everyday life in preparation for and in conscious anticipation of the more metaphysical scope of the magic theater.

The motif of "chance" and "destiny," as in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, lends an aura of inevitability to the initial events of the denouement, and it is an obvious corollary to the technique of double perception. One day Haller happens to see a man who resembles the placard-bearer of his recent adventure. With a conspiratorial wink Haller asks him if there is no entertainment that evening: "'Abendunterhaltung' brummte der Mann und sah mir fremd ins Gesicht. 'Gehen Sie in den Schwarzen Adler, Mensch, wenn Sie Bedürfnisse haben!'" (260). The repeated use of the word "schien" in connection with these incidents indicates clearly that Haller is not dealing with the same man as before. Moreover, it is just chance that the stolid citizen happens to respond indignantly to the misunderstood question and advises Haller to go to an obviously notorious prostitute den if he wishes to satisfy his needs. It is likewise chance (or destiny?) which leads Haller that very evening to this particular night club, where he meets Hermine, who becomes his teacher during these *Lehrjahre*.

The entire first day of the action represents an accumulation of impossible situations which bring Haller to the point of suicide. One incident after another convinces him that his life has become intoler-

¹⁴ *Music and Literature*, p. 42.

able. The conflict of themes which was introduced in the preliminary material is elevated in the course of this first day to an unbearable pitch. Late in the night Haller weaves wearily from bar to bar, determined to put an end to his miserable existence, yet hesitant to go home and do so. Then he finds himself outside the bar "Zum schwarzen Adler," and since he recalls the name from that morning, he goes in.

It is made sufficiently clear in the course of the book that Hermine is a high-class prostitute or call-girl, and she greets the errant Haller with an intimate, hearty tone which has no deep metaphysical implications whatsoever (as some scholars assume¹⁵), but which is simply customary in her profession. She immediately perceives that he is weary, dejected, and drunk; like any sensible woman she advises him to sleep it off. Haller, drunk as he is and happy to be able to stave off his suicide as long as possible, is delighted to obey her. He feels that her immediate comprehension of his situation is almost preternatural. Actually, any reader will recognize that most of Hermine's remarks, like the utterances of the Delphic oracle, are open to two interpretations. In this case Hermine's words are precisely what one would expect from a prostitute with long experience in handling drunks and mothering would-be suicides. Only Haller's lonely and despondent state allows him to ascribe any higher significance to her casual remarks.

Hermine, who becomes genuinely interested in Haller, makes a tremendous impression on the naïve intellectual. In his eyes she stands for a wholly new aspect of life—one which he had previously regarded with distrust. His experiences with her must be viewed continually in double perspective. On the one hand, the whole episode is anticipated in the "Tractat," which, as an example of Haller's dual nature and bourgeois limitations, cites his attitude toward prostitutes:

Außerdem war er in kleinbürgerlicher Erziehung aufgewachsen und hatte von dorthin eine Menge von Begriffen und Schablonen beibehalten. Er hatte theoretisch nicht das mindeste gegen das Dirnentum, wäre aber unfähig gewesen, persönlich eine Dirne ernst zu nehmen und wirklich als seinesgleichen zu betrachten. (235-36)

Yet in order to overcome these bourgeois inhibitions he must expand his soul to the point of embracing every aspect of life (250). Hermine, then, is a test case: on a higher level Haller's acceptance of her and her world—dancing and jazz, the love orgies of Pablo and Maria, narcotics and the elemental pleasures of life—is only symbolic for his repudiation of the entire narrow world of the Bürger and his new dimensions as an aspirant to the kingdom of the Immortals.

¹⁵ Richard B. Matzig, *Hermann Hesse in Montagnola: Studien zu Werk und Innenwelt des Dichters* (Basel, 1947), p. 65. Matzig's chapter on *Der Steppenwolf*, incidentally, is a perfect example of the confusion which reigns with regard to the structure of the novel: the elaborate plot summary which the author attempts is a hodgepodge of inexactnesses, shifts in sequence, and outright errors.

Haller learns much from and through Hermine. She teaches him to enjoy and appreciate many new aspects of life, and her friends, Pablo and Maria, aid her in Haller's education. For Haller she becomes almost a symbol; he calls her "eine Tür... durch die das Leben zu mir hereinkam!" (290). On the brink of a suicide of despair he has found someone who can bring him back to life:

Sie war die Erlösung, der Weg ins Freie. Sie mußte mich leben lehren oder sterben lehren, sie mit ihrer festen und hübschen Hand mußte mein erstarrtes Herz antasten, damit es unter der Berührung des Lebens entweder aufblühe oder in Asche zerfalle. (294)

Hermine, too, realizes why he needs her: "Du brauchst mich, um tanzen zu lernen, lachen zu lernen, leben zu lernen" (300). And at first she feels that the task is almost insurmountable: "Ich glaube, du mußt alles erst lernen, was sich bei andern Menschen von selber versteht, sogar die Freude am Essen" (301). It is the art of life in which Hermine is Haller's preceptress:

Wofür ich aber zu sorgen habe, das ist, daß du die kleinen leichten Künste und Spiele im Leben etwas besser erlernst, auf diesem Gebiet bin ich deine Lehrerin und werde dir eine bessere Lehrerin sein, als deine ideale Geliebte es war, darauf verlasse dich!... Ideal und tragisch lieben, o Freund, das kannst du gewiß vortrefflich, ich zweifle nicht daran, alle Achtung davor! Du wirst nun lernen, auch ein wenig gewöhnlich und menschlich zu lieben. (318)

But all that Haller learns from Hermine on this level of mundane reality is only symbolic for an entire new world of experiences: "Wie das Grammophon die Luft von asketischer Geistigkeit in meinem Studierzimmer verdarb... so drang von allen Seiten Neues, Gefürchtetes, Auflösendes in mein bisher so scharf umrissenes und so streng abgeschlossenes Leben" (319).

Yet on a higher level of reality Hermine and Pablo, the jazz musician to whom she introduces Haller, are equally important: as reflections of his own thoughts! For occasionally these two representatives of the sensual world utter deep and significant statements which ill conform to the very realistic picture drawn of them. Hermine, for example, expresses quite lucidly the central tenet of the novel, which Haller is unable to formulate articulately for himself; she confirms his inchoate belief in the eternal spiritual kingdom of the Immortals. She tells him what people of their sort, the Steppenwolf-natures, live for:

Der Ruhm ist es nicht, o nein! Aber das, was ich Ewigkeit nenne. Die Frommen nennen es Reich Gottes. Ich denke mir: wir Menschen alle, wir Anspruchsvolleren, wir mit der Sehnsucht, mit der Dimension zuviel, könnten gar nicht leben, wenn es nicht außer der Luft dieser Welt auch noch eine andre Luft zu atmen gäbe, wenn nicht außer der Zeit auch noch die Ewigkeit bestünde, und die ist das Reich des Echten. (345)

Just as Haller read his own speculations on the Steppenwolf into an indifferent pamphlet, so has he transplanted his own thoughts into the words of a clever courtesan. This fact is stressed: "Dies alles waren, so schien mir, vielleicht nicht ihre eigenen Gedanken, sondern

die meinigen, die die Hellsichtige gelesen und eingeatmet hatte und die sie mir wiedergab, so daß sie nun Gestalt hatten und neu vor mir standen" (346). It is again made explicit at the end (411).

In the case of Pablo, who is presented consistently as a monosyllabic sensualist, it is even more striking. At the beginning of the magic theater, when Pablo is speaking so astutely on the nature of the personality, Haller muses:

War nicht vielleicht ich es, der ihn sprechen machte, der aus ihm sprach? Blickte nicht auch aus seinen schwarzen Augen nur meine eigene Seele mich an ... wie aus den grauen Augen Herminens? ... Er, den ich nie zusammenhängend hatte reden hören, den kein Disput, keine Formulierung interessierte, dem ich kaum ein Denken zugetraut hatte, er sprach nun, er redete mit seiner guten, warmen Stimme fließend und fehlerlos. (367-68)

Thus, Hermine, Pablo, Maria, and the entire demimonde of *Steppenwolf* exist on a realistic plane consistently throughout the book. Only Haller's sense of double perception bestows upon them the added dimension by which they assume symbolic proportions. In the "Tractat" he tells himself that he must expand his soul to encompass the world; accident with an element of destiny places him in a position to carry out this self-admonishment, and he sparks his contact with this other world with reflections which he imputes to the minds of his new acquaintances. This entire sequence of development, on both levels of reality, culminates in the experience of the magic theater, which takes place a little less than four weeks after the initial encounter with Hermine.

The occasion which Haller designates as the "magisches Theater" on the upper level of reality is no more than the aftermath of a great ball—according to the season probably a "Faschingsball." Haller is prepared for it on both levels: he has learned to dance and to love; by implication he has embraced and affirmed all aspects of life. Symbolic for this acceptance of the cosmos, including its most abysmal depths, is the fact that Haller must descend to a basement bar, called quite pointedly "Die Hölle," in order to meet Hermine (357). From that point they gradually ascend to a small room in the upper stories (367) where Haller later experiences the magic theater. This upward progression is interrupted by a symbolic wedding dance which Haller performs with Hermine (365) and which represents the imminent marriage of the two poles of existence in his soul: the intellectual or spiritual with the sensual or natural. In this passage Hermine is no longer "a woman"; she is "womankind": "Alle Frauen dieser fiebernden Nacht ... waren zusammengeschmolzen und eine einzige geworden, die in meinen Armen blühte" (365).

In the course of the symbolic ascent, on both planes, Haller loses the last vestiges of his bourgeois notion of individuality. Here the concept of fluidity, so important in other works by Hesse (e.g., *Siddhartha*), is touched upon: "Ich war nicht mehr ich, meine Persönlichkeit war aufgelöst im Festrausch wie Salz im Wasser" (362).

These rites are the final stage in Haller's initiation for the supreme experience. Only now can he agree to Pablo's invitation to the magic theater, which involves the stipulation: "Eintritt nur für Verrückte, kostet den Verstand" (367).

The words "nur für Verrückte," which occur in leitmotiv fashion at several significant points in the book, sum up still another major motif of the novel: namely, the concept of magical thinking. This idea is most succinctly stated in the essay "Gedanken zu Dostojewskis 'Idiot'" (1919),¹⁰ in which Hesse declares that the "Verrückte" are those rare individuals, like Myschkin in Dostoevski's novel, who have perceived the total relativity of good and evil; they are the inhabitants of this world who have learned to regard life with the eyes of the Immortals. They live for a higher reality where polar opposites have ceased to be reciprocally hostile, where every aspect of life is affirmed, where there is no dichotomy between *fas* and *nefas*. They think "magically," for they look beyond the apparent "reality" of the bourgeois phenomenal world to the essential reality of cosmic harmony.

After his symbolic descent into hell and the wedding dance with his opposite and complement, Hermine, Haller is able to think magically and to accept Pablo's invitation, even on the condition that he become "verrückt." This acceptance concludes Haller's *Lehrjahre*: the second part of the novel has portrayed the full course of his development from a schizophrenic intellectual contemplating suicide because of an imaginary conflict between two poles of his being, to a man with a healthy awareness and appreciation of the world around him. To extend the analogy, he is now ready to embark on his *Wanderjahre*, to plumb the very depths of the potentialities of his life. The magic theater is the vehicle through which he is to be introduced symbolically to the full extent of his personality in all its manifestations, and the consummation of his symbolic marriage to Hermine is to represent the complete welding of all aspects of his nature.

It would be gratifying if we could demonstrate that this second part conforms strictly to the form of the second movement of the sonata, but that would be an extension of the truth. The second movement offers various possibilities to the composer, but since no precise correspondence exists between the novel and the musical forms, it will be best not to go into the matter. It might be mentioned in passing that the structure of many modern sonatas is far less rigid than that of the classical sonata, and we have seen that Haller's *Lehrjahre* are highly musical in nature owing to the device of double perception or counterpoint. In this restricted sense, then, the second part is equivalent to a second movement.

¹⁰ *Blick ins Chaos* (Bern, 1922), especially pp. 24-29; or *GS*, VII, especially pp. 181-84.

IV

The "magisches Theater," like every other incident in the novel, is open to interpretation on two levels. On the realistic level it is nothing more than an opium fantasy in which Haller indulges after the ball in the company of Hermine and Pablo. From the very beginning of Haller's acquaintance with Pablo it is emphasized that the jazz musician is familiar with all the exotic refinements of narcotics. At their first meeting Pablo offers Haller a powder to improve his spirits:

In der Tat wurde ich in kurzem frischer und munterer, wahrscheinlich war etwas Kokain in dem Pulver gewesen. Hermine erzählte mir, daß Pablo viele solche Mittel habe, die er auf geheimen Wegen erhalte, die er zuweilen Freunden vorsetze und in deren Mischung und Dosierung er ein Meister sei: Mittel... zur Erzeugung schöner Träume.... (322)

Later Haller admits: "nicht selten nahm ich etwas von seinen Mitteln an" (336). On the last evening Pablo again offers Haller one of his stimulants:

Jeder von uns rauchte nun... langsam seine Zigarette, deren Rauch dick wie Weihrauch war, und trank in langsamen Schlucken die herbsüße... Flüssigkeit, die in der Tat unendlich belebend und beglückend wirkte, als werde man mit Gas gefüllt und verliere seine Schwere. (368)

Everything Haller is to see in the magic theater, then, is a reflection of his own soul and a product of his eidetic vision under the influence of narcotics. Pablo makes this clear:

Sie wissen ja, wo diese andre Welt verborgen liegt, daß es die Welt Ihrer eigenen Seele ist, die Sie suchen. Nur in Ihrem eigenen Innern lebt jene andre Wirklichkeit, nach der Sie sich sehnen. Ich kann Ihnen nichts geben, was nicht in Ihnen selbst schon existiert.... Ich helfe Ihnen Ihre eigene Welt sichtbar machen, das ist alles. (368-69)

The "Tractat vom Steppenwolf," as we recall, stated that the Immortals are those who have transcended the *principium individuationis*. Pablo now restates this theme:

Ohne Zweifel haben Sie ja längst erraten, daß die Überwindung der Zeit, die Erlösung von der Wirklichkeit, und was immer für Namen Sie Ihrer Sehnsucht geben mögen, nichts andres bedeuten, als den Wunsch, Ihrer sogenannten Persönlichkeit ledig zu werden. (370)

The magic theater gives Haller a chance to do precisely this. Peering into Pablo's magic mirror, Haller perceives simultaneously thousands of faces of his personality: he sees himself as a child, a youth, an adult, an old man; as a serious scholar and a comical buffoon; bald and with long hair; every potentiality of development and expression is there in the mirrored image.¹⁷ When he accepts the fact that

¹⁷ This effect, which has much in common with the painting "Ich und das Dorf" by Chagall, is a favorite motif in Hesse's works and may be found also in *Klingsors letzter Sommer* (1919), *GD*, III, 611-12, as well as in *Siddhartha* (1922), *GD*, III, 731-32.

all of these Harrys are part of his own personality, he is prepared to enter the magic theater and to enjoy the multifarious activities offered there for his amusement.

Structurally the theater which he visualizes in this dream is on the order of a penny arcade. There are thousands of booths which he has only to enter in order to undergo a new experience. Hesse mentions fifteen of these sideshows by name, and Haller enters only four of them. But it is obvious that these few sensations are symbolic for the world of experience which lies open to him.

Individually each sideshow recapitulates a motif which has been developed in the course of the entire novel, and each one can be analyzed separately in order to demonstrate how carefully Hesse has constructed his work. Let us examine the first one as a typical example. While Haller is peering into Pablo's magic mirror, two aspects of the personality which he sees reflected there leap out of the mirror: one, an elegant young man, embraces Pablo and goes off with him; the other, a charming youth of sixteen or seventeen, dashes down the corridor to a booth marked "Alle Mädchen sind dein!" (373). In the second part of the novel it is indicated that Pablo, apart from his proficiency in heterosexual love, is also homosexually inclined; on two specific occasions he makes overtures to Haller, who rejects them indignantly. Now Haller sees that part of his personality is not only willing but eager to explore this particular side of life. Yet at the same time another part of his nature goes into a booth where (as we learn later when Haller finally comes back to the same booth himself) he experiences the love of every woman Haller has ever known or even seen and desired during his life. The complete resolution of any polarity in matters of physical love is clearly implied.

The following sideshows pick up various other motifs from the novel: in the second one Haller learns that he, the confirmed pacifist, is able to enjoy war and killing. The motifs of metamorphosis, suicide, the decline of western civilization, the nature of music, humor, the structure of the personality—all these are mentioned, and each one, whether Haller actually enters the booth or not, conjures up a very concrete image because it represents the culmination of a motif which has been subtly suggested again and again throughout the book.¹⁸

The final tableau, however, requires a more detailed consideration, for there the two levels of reality become so entangled as to be almost inextricable. As the effect of the opium begins to wear off, Harry has his most sublime experience: direct contact with the Immortals in the person of Mozart (like an earlier encounter with Goethe in a dream). But this exposure is too much for his overtaxed nerves: he feels despondent of ever attaining the stature of the Immortals,

¹⁸ It is almost superfluous to mention that all of these motifs play a major role in most of Hesse's other works and do not belong exclusively to *Steppenwolf*.

whom, for an instant, he felt that he had approximated. In this feeling of despair he suddenly becomes aware that Pablo and Hermine, far from spending their time in idle dreams, are lying on the carpet, locked in a passionate embrace. On the dream level Haller seems to take a knife and kill Hermine (406). Yet the actual event probably amounts to no more than an exclamation of jealousy and disgust when he realizes that the woman whom he had elevated to symbolic stature, rather than being the ethereal personification of an ideal, is indeed very much of the flesh. It is, to be sure, a murder on this level of reality also, for in his mind he eradicates the idealized image of Hermine which had obsessed him. As he contemplates her (imagined) corpse, he meditates: "Nun war ihr Wunsch erfüllt. Noch eh sie ganz mein geworden war, hatte ich meine Geliebte getötet" (406).

This realization marks the climax of the novel, for the whole structure is calculated to bring Haller to the consummation of his wedding with Hermine, to the total acceptance of all that she represents to him: namely, the opposite of every pole of his personality. He fails because he allows a touch of bourgeois reality to creep into the images of the magic theater; he allows bourgeois jealousy to destroy the image of Hermine as the complement of his being. Pablo's words indicate that Hermine, in the last analysis, is simply an aspect of Haller's being with which he is not yet reconciled: "Mit dieser Figur hast du leider nicht umzugehen verstanden—ich glaubte, du habest das Spiel besser gelernt. Nun, es lässt sich korrigieren" (414).

After the deed Haller slumps back in his chair, and when Pablo fetches a blanket to cover Hermine from the cool morning air (on the level of ordinary reality), he interprets it to be a cover to conceal the knife wound (on the dream level). When Pablo brings in a radio (first level), Haller thinks that it is Mozart again (second level), and the ensuing conversation is once more on the plane of dream or higher reality. Mozart-Pablo's message is a reiteration of the thought which Haller had once before inferred from Hermine's words. Mozart experiments with the radio and, at length, locates a Munich broadcast, where the strains of a Handel concerto are scarcely recognizable through the maddening static and interference of the instrument. When Haller objects to this, Mozart replies:

Sie hören und sehen, Wertester, zugleich ein vortreffliches Gleichnis alles Lebens. Wenn Sie dem Radio zuhören, so hören und sehen Sie den Urkampf zwischen Idee und Erscheinung, zwischen Ewigkeit und Zeit, zwischen Göttlichem und Menschlichem. (409)

Haller must learn to perceive the eternal spirit behind the spurious phenomena of external reality; he must learn to take seriously only those things which deserve it: the essence, not the appearance. Mozart goes on to chastize Haller for the murder of the image of Hermine, and it is revealed that the stabbing took place only on

the dream level. Before the jury of Immortals he accuses Haller: "Haller hat . . . die hohe Kunst beleidigt, indem er unsern schönen Bildersaal mit der sogenannten Wirklichkeit verwechselte und ein gespiegeltes Mädchen mit einem gespiegelten Messer totgestochen hat" (412). For this crime against the higher reality of the Immortals Haller is punished by "Ausgelachtwerden" (412).¹⁹ The only penance imposed is the following:

Sie sollen leben, und Sie sollen das Lachen lernen. Sie sollen die verfluchte Radiomusik des Lebens anhören lernen, sollen den Geist hinter ihr verehren, sollen über den Klimbim in ihr lachen lernen. Fertig, mehr wird von Ihnen nicht verlangt. (413-14)

At this point Haller begins to realize that the figure which he had taken for Mozart is actually none other than Pablo, who is reproaching him for his previous outburst against Hermine. He comprehends that he was too weak to sustain the rarified stratosphere of the Immortals; he had confused the two levels of reality and had taken seriously the prostitute Hermine of the first level, whereas he should merely have laughed at her. By taking her seriously and allowing himself a tirade against her, he had destroyed the image of Hermine as the symbolic woman, which he had meticulously constructed during his four-week acquaintance with her.

However, the novel ends on an optimistic note, for Haller understands his situation and his shortcomings: "Einmal würde ich das Figurenspiel besser spielen. Einmal würde ich das Lachen lernen. Pablo wartete auf mich. Mozart wartete auf mich" (415). Haller knows now that Mozart and Pablo are only two aspects of the same person (just like Narziß and Goldmund in Hesse's next novel): between the two of them they represent the complete union of the poles of spirit and nature. Haller's last words, with their tacit understanding and affirmation of this metaphysical union, indicate that he, too, may hope to learn magical thinking and to enter the ranks of the Immortals. He has experienced it briefly, but must transcend himself in order to be able to maintain constantly this new view of life.

Thus the novel ends. In retrospect the structure of the magic theater might be called a theme with variations. The theme, which is borrowed from the "Tractat," is the notion that Haller's personality comprises a multiplicity of opposite elements; but when he views these opposites from the new perspective gained through the magic mirror, from the standpoint of the Immortals, he realizes that they are not mutually exclusive. For the duration of the magic theater—until the murder of Hermine's image—he observes life from a point outside the polar sphere of the Bürger, and he is able to accept all its

¹⁹ H. H. in Hesse's *Morgenlandfahrt* (1932) is punished more mildly for a similar transgression against the eternal spirit by being smiled at by the assembled Immortals; cf. *GD*, VI, 65. In the same book, moreover, Mozart appears disguised as Pablo; cf. *GD*, VI, 63.

aspects. Each booth in the magic theater represents a variation on this theme: in each one he sees a specific instance of the opposite tendencies in his nature, and yet he affirms all of them completely.

The *Harvard Dictionary of Music* defines the theme with variations as "a musical form based upon the principle of presenting a musical idea (theme) in an arbitrary number of modifications (from 4 to 30 or more), each of these being a 'variation'" (782). It also has a statement that the variation is sometimes employed as the form of the finale in the sonata or symphony (265). Calvin S. Brown mentions that the obvious danger of formal repetition and variation in the literary genres is tedium,²⁰ and in conventional works of literature that criticism holds true. By making use of a dream sequence Hesse is able to maintain a constant theme while providing in each case a different setting and new details. The setting and details, in turn, are drawn from motifs which occur in the preceding parts of the novel. Thus, the finale knits the book into a tightly constructed whole.

Der Steppenwolf might be compared to a sonata in three movements. The first movement shows unmistakable first-movement form, or the so-called "sonata-form"; the second movement, though it does not reveal any form typical of the adagio of the sonata, employs the highly musical device of double perception or counterpoint throughout; the third movement, finally, is constructed according to a pattern remarkably similar to a finale in variations. As in the modern symphony, the themes are not limited to one movement alone, but appear in all the parts, thus creating an effect of structural unity in the whole: the second and third movements are based, respectively, upon the first and second points of the "Tractat." Although the work abounds in so-called "musical" devices, like leitmotiv and contrast, it does not depend upon such hazy concepts in order to attain its musical effect. Instead, it reveals a structure which, consciously or unconsciously on Hesse's part, corresponds in general to a specific musical form and, in certain places, seems to adhere rigidly to the accepted pattern of musical composition. To this extent it might be permissible to designate Hesse's *Steppenwolf* as a sonata in prose.

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²⁰ *Music and Literature*, pp. 111 and 134.

JOHN MARSTON'S PLAY *HISTRIOMASTIX*

By ALVIN KERNAN

The play *Histriomastix* was published anonymously in 1610, and it was not until 1878 that Richard Simpson noted¹ that certain passages in the play are written in the peculiar style which John Marston developed in his book of formal verse satires, *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), and called the "stuttering style." Simpson went on to point out that there is a specific echo of *The Scourge of Villanie* in *Histriomastix*,² and that Clove, a character in Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor*, who is perhaps a caricature of Marston, refers to "Platos *Histriomastix*" (III.iv.29), and uses "fustian" terms which appear in *Histriomastix*. On these grounds Simpson attributed the play to Marston, and subsequent critics have agreed with him. While none of this evidence is conclusive, and the strict identification of Clove as Marston has come to be questioned generally, there seems to be little reason for doubting the assignment of the play to Marston. Simpson's case is strengthened considerably by the fact that the materials and attitudes found in *Histriomastix* closely parallel those of *The Scourge of Villanie* and Marston's acknowledged plays, a matter which will be touched on in the remainder of this article.

But Simpson also introduced the idea, supported by the majority of critics who followed him,³ and accepted as dogma in our standard handbooks of Elizabethan drama, that *Histriomastix* as we have it is Marston's reworking of an older play, an *ur-Histriomastix*. This theory of redaction has been accepted uncritically, and scholars have argued with certainty about whether Peele or Chapman wrote the older play, its date, and its characters. The chief point to be kept in mind is that the *ur-Histriomastix* no longer exists—though it once required considerable searching on my part to discover this, so confidently do the critics talk about the older play. The decision that the play in its present form is the work of two hands at different times is based on several very shaky assumptions; in fact, it ultimately rests on the critical assumption that the play lacks unity of

¹ *School of Shakspeare* (London, 1878), II, 1-4.

² In *Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. H. Wood (Edinburgh, 1934-39), III, 257-58. All citations of *Histriomastix* are to this edition. Wood does not number lines or make scene divisions, and references, therefore, will be given to pages. The lines in *Histriomastix* echo *Scourge of Villanie*, *Proemium in librum primum*.

³ See R. A. Small, *The Stage Quarrel Between Ben Jonson and the So-Called Poetasters* (Breslau, 1899), pp. 67-90; F. Hoppe, *Histriomastix-Studien* (Breslau, 1906); E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), IV, 17-19; Morse Allen, *The Satire of John Marston* (Columbus, 1920), pp. 23-34, 166-69. F. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (London, 1891), II, 72, rejects the theory of dual authorship but offers no support for his position.

a particular kind, and yet the play has never been given a critical reading to determine whether it has a unity of its own. This can be easily illustrated.

One of the chief props for the theory of divers hands has been the nature of the brief sub-play given in Act II (pp. 264-65) by a group of strolling players. This sub-play begins as a ridiculous doggerel romance of Troilus and Cressida and then changes suddenly to a crude morality on the Prodigal Son. Now, Simpson and R. A. Small argue that this rough mixture of two incongruous stories could only have come about by the later addition of the romance to the morality. No support is offered for this theory; its proponents clearly believe it to be evident that no competent playwright would mingle such disparate elements.

Leaving aside certain logical objections to this theory, if we approach the sub-play not as a unit complete in itself but as an interacting part of a larger dramatic whole, its incongruities become quite understandable and contribute a good deal to the effect of the play. Among other things *Histriomastix* is a satiric treatment of the Elizabethan provincial touring companies, a comment written by a sophisticated author who had just completed a series of fashionable Juvenalian satires, and whose plays written for the avant-garde audiences of the private theaters⁴ show that their author's critical theories were almost as much in the "learned" tradition as those of his contemporary Ben Jonson.⁵ From the beginning of *Histriomastix* this group of players who call themselves Sir Oliver Owlet's Men—without bothering to consult Sir Oliver—approximates Bottom and company in dramatic skill. Gulch, Belch, Clowt, Gut, and their hack Posthast are mechanics who have forsaken their trades. They spout nothing but doggerel. They are avid for the latest theatrical fashions of the city, which they always misunderstand. Their repertory is a fantastic mixture:

Mother Gurtons neadle; (a Tragedy.)
The Divell and Dives; (a Comedie.)
A russet coate, and a Knaves cap; (an Infernall)
A proud heart and a beggars purse; (a pastorall.)
The Widdowes apron-strings; (a nocturnall.) (p. 263)

In times of prosperity Sir Oliver's Men grow rich and insolent. From such a company the "barbarous" mixture of romance and morality of the sub-play is perfectly in keeping, and Marston's sneer at them and their kind is made explicit by one of the most hilarious parody stage directions to be found in Elizabethan drama: "Enter

⁴ For a description of the tastes of this audience see Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Tradition* (New York, 1952), pp. 80 ff.

⁵ For example, Marston, as well as Jonson, was among the first of the Elizabethans to observe carefully the unities of time and place. See Mabel Buland, *Presentation of Time in Elizabethan Drama*, Yale Studies in English, XLIV (New York, 1912), 153.

a roaring *Divell* with the *Vice* on his back, *Iniquity* in one hand; and *Juventus* in the other" (p. 265). Here we get a glimpse of the mixed fare of tumbling, horseplay, and morality which must have been the stock in trade of the companies who made their living, as Sir Oliver's Men do, by going from market place to hall to manor in the provinces. From such a group as this, completely ignorant of the niceties of theatrical decorum, a mixture of a romance and a morality is to be expected. They are simply trying to provide amusement for all kinds of people, and their artistic naïveté must have been immediately apparent and laughable to the more sophisticated audiences of the private theaters.

The sub-play has internal "unity" too, for both romance and morality are written in the same kind of doggerel in which the frantic search for rhyme to the neglect of sense is painfully apparent. Here is a bit from the *Troilus* section: "The foe in shivering fearefull sort, / May lay him downe in death to snort" (p. 265). And from the *Prodigal Son*: "I am the prodigall child, I that I am, / Who says I am not, I say he is too blame" (p. 265). The metrical form shifts appropriately from galloping tetrameter to long flat lines, but the degree of ineptness remains constant.

The chief argument, however, for *Histriomastix* being a reworking of an older play has been that during the course of the play its chief character, the scholar Chrisoganus, changes from an academic philosopher to a biting satirist similar to W. Kinsayder, the satiric speaker in Marston's *The Scourge of Villanie*. It has been contended that Chrisoganus was a philosopher throughout the old play, and that in revising, chiefly in the last three acts, Marston simply changed Chrisoganus into a snarling critic, a type made popular in the satires of the time. The theory that any violent shift in character within a play is evidence of two authors or redaction is patently untenable, particularly in dealing with Elizabethan drama; but more solid objections to this theory can be made by a new reading of the play as a dramatic whole rather than as a number of parts to be analyzed individually.

Histriomastix, somewhat like its sub-play, is a mixture of a good many heterogeneous elements thrown together to satisfy the tastes of its specialized audience and the peculiar abilities of the boy choristers who played it: songs, elaborate dancing, rich pageantry, allegorical scenes, clowning, satiric portraits, and dramatizations of the sins of the age. But this farrago has a loose structure. It is a study of the breakdown of an unspecified but clearly English society, and each of its six acts presents one phase of the process: Peace, Plenty, Pride, Envy, War, Poverty. The deterioration is traced and made specific by presenting in each act various scenes which illustrate the theme of the act. These scenes are acted out by representatives of four levels of society: the nobility, tradesmen and lawyers, the artisans turned

players, and the scholar Chrisoganus; they all wax prosperous, waste time, turn from their proper pursuits, long for higher stations, bicker, and finally are caught up in a disastrous civil war which leaves them all destitute. The play is a loose historical arrangement of all the sins which Kinsayder snarls at in *The Scourge of Villanie*, and *Histriomastix* would seem to be Marston's first attempt to order for the stage the sensational and highly popular material of his formal verse satires, a form now denied him by the edict of June, 1599, ordering *The Scourge of Villanie* and other satires called in and burned, and forbidding the future publication of any works of this kind.

Chrisoganus the scholar follows the same primrose path as the other members of the society, and his transformation from academic tutor to satirist parallels the evident deterioration of the other social classes. But in order to see that he is at the outset as misguided and proud as the nobles who waste their time hunting and the merchants' wives who long to dress like titled ladies, it is necessary to examine his opening speeches carefully. Peace opens the first act by commanding that the leisure she affords be spent by men in the pursuit of knowledge, but carefully warns man to "injure not the fame / Of these bright Virgins [the arts] with adulterate love" (p. 249). Chrisoganus is given the task of instructing other men in the search for knowledge, but the learning he offers is not moral—it is impractical, scholastic hair-splitting. When the nobles object that there is no value in learning, Chrisoganus rebuts them with this argument:

That knowledge (that considers things
 Abjunct from senceive matter) is exacter
 Then that which joynes it selfe with elements;
Arithmetick ever considers numbers
 Abstract from senceive matter: *Musick* still
 Considers it with sence, as mixt with sound:
 Therefore *Arithmetique* is more exact,
 And more exact then is *Geometrie*:
 Since unitas is still *simplicior puncto*,
 And number simpler then is magnitude.
 For *Unitas* may still be *sine puncto*,
 But *Punctus* never without Unitie,
 Nor; *Magnitudo sine Numero*,
Dum (enim) punctus ponitur, ponitur (ex necessitate) unitas.
 (p. 249)

But Mavortius, one of the nobles, replies with exasperating and delightful common sense. "But all this prooves not wee may know a truth." The argument which Chrisoganus uses is a perfectly correct scholastic proof for, among other things, man's ability to know God. But are we to take it seriously? I rather think not, for the argument is so bookish, so contrary to common sense, and so obviously loaded with Latin tags that it seems a parody on arguments of this type. And Mavortius' devastatingly direct answer reinforces this interpretation. Later on in the act Chrisoganus ventures into a descrip-

tion of the delights of speculative celestial mechanics, and here the grand language and the ostentatious display of learning, which in the end drift completely away from the original point, make it clear that the scholar is a mere pedant whose jargon is as ridiculous as the alchemical gibberish in *The Alchemist*.

Why you shall meet with projects so remov'd
From vulgar apprehension, (as for instance,)
The Sunne heere riseth in the East with us,
But not of his owne proper motion,
As beeing turn'd by *primum mobile*,
(The heaven above *Cælum stellatum*)
Whereas his true ascent is in the West,
And so hee consummates his circled course
In the Ecliptick line, which partes the Zodiack,
Being borne from Tropick to Tropick: this time
Wee call a yeere; whose *Hierocliphick* was
(Amongst the *Egyptians*) figured in a Snake
Wreath'd circular, the tayle within his mouth:
As (happily) the Latines (since) did call,
A Ring, (of the word *Annus*) *Annulus*. (p. 253)

Between the two scenes in which Chrisoganus displays his erudition there is an interlude in which a group of artisans enters, and the first begins, "This *Peace* breeds such Plenty, trades serve no turnes" (p. 250). To this the others agree, and all decide that they are fools to work any longer, so they band together to form Sir Oliver Owlet's Men. The ironic parallel is explicit. In times of peace, freed from harsh necessity, both the man of learning and the workman lose their sense of proportion and neglect their proper functions in society; one turns from a concern with human conduct to vague ramblings of the mind which carry him into nonsensical playing with words to describe matters of which man can have no knowledge through his reason; the other turns from his trade to putting on hackneyed plays. This ironic treatment of scholasticism is perfectly in keeping with the attitudes displayed throughout Marston's work and is a part of the growing skepticism of the time.

In the next act Plenty reigns, and here the nobles renounce Chrisoganus when he attempts to persuade them to investigate matters of religious faith: "What better recreations can you find, / Then sacred knowledge in divinest things" (p. 257). Here he is again prying into another sphere, that of theology, where man's reason can only lead to endless speculation and tortured language. When he is again rebuffed and loses his post as tutor to the nobles, Chrisoganus turns into a playwright who, puffed with pride, demands the obviously unheard of sum of ten pounds for a play. He is quickly rejected for the "goose-quillian Posthast," and with his last possibility of honest employment gone he becomes a satirist railing in Marstonese, that bizarre compound of the high style mixed with Billingsgate, and strikes the Juvenalian note of outrage which borders on frenzy.

VVrite on, crie on, yawle to the common sort
 Of thickskin'd auditours; such rotten stuffs,
 More fit to fill the paunch of Esquiline,
 Then feed the hearings of judiciall eares,
 Yee shades tryumphe, while foggy Ignorance
 Clouds bright *Apollos* beauty:

When every Ballad-monger boldly writes:
 And windy froth of bottle-ale doth fill
 Their purest organ of invention. (pp. 273-74)

The players are as amazed as the critics have been by the transformation, but they recognize a good performance when they see it: "Is this the well-learn'd man *Chrisoganus*, / He beats the Ayre the best that ere I heard" (p. 274).

By Act IV *Chrisoganus* has turned into a snarling, malcontent satirist, lamenting the world's neglect of his merits and regarding the desolation of the land with Stoic fortitude. When the country lies waste and the survivors lament their woes, he steps forward to explain their faults to the various members of society.

When thou was rich and Peerelesse in thy pride,
 Content did never harbour in thy brest,
 Nor ere had love, her residence in thee,
 (I meane the love of perfect happinesse)
 But skillesse grudging from a haughty spirit
 Did blind thy senses with a slender merit.
 Whil'st I (poore man) not subject to such thought
 Gave entertaine to those sweet blessed babes,
 Which Sapience brought from Wisedomes holy brest,
 And thought me rich to have their company.
 By nursing them in Peace I shun'd all Sloth,
 Nor yet did *Plenty* make me prodigall:
Pride I abhor'd and term'd the Beggars shield:
 Nor ever did base *Envie* touch my heart.
 Yet alwayes loov'd to beare (as *Solon* sed,) *A Turtles eye within an Aspicks head*:
 Nor could the ratling fury of fierce warre
 Astonish me more then the mid-night clock,
 The Trumpetter to Contemplation:
 For *Poverty*, I shake her by the hand,
 As welcome Lady to this wofull Land. (p. 296)

We need only to refer to the kind of tortured learning which *Chrisoganus* terms "those sweet blessed babes" to see how ridiculous his claims are. When he should have been instructing the nobles in their moral duties, he was trying to lead them into the bogs of speculative thought. *Plenty* may not have made him "prodigall" of the world's goods, but it certainly made him a waster of the intellectual powers which had been bestowed on him. And when he was rejected by those who should have provided for him, he became proud and began to rail. Yet he is right in his evaluation of others, though completely lacking in humility and understanding of his own culpa-

bility, and this is the character of the satirist as he appears in Marston's other satiric works.

What Marston did in *Histriomastix*, then, was to trace the progress of the scholar and other members of society from a state of peace, which fostered pride, to the state of ruin which inevitably followed. In the course of the cycle the scholar, who lacks balance and misuses learning, changes into a railing satirist and a suspect Stoic. This satirist, though useful in showing others their mistakes, is perhaps the most vicious of the group, for he, instead of admitting his part in the ruin, excuses himself, castigates others, and falls back on a Stoicism to which he has no right. The play is then a study in social breakdown, and the ranting satirist is pictured as one form of abnormality, little better than the other debased characters among whom he lives and on whom he feeds. All the characters have perverted the boon which nature granted them, namely, reason.

It seems clear that the character of Chrisoganus, rather than being an index to dual authorship of *Histriomastix*, is an integral part of an artistic whole. But in order to see this his speeches must be read dramatically, in the light of context and with close attention to tone, rather than being approached as isolated parts to be taken at face value.⁶

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⁶ One more traditional objection to a single author for *Histriomastix* should be noted. R. A. Small, in *The Stage Quarrel*, argues that the verse in some passages of *Histriomastix* is typical of Marston and in others is not. He does not explain his verse-tests, and it is noteworthy that he gives Marston only those passages in *Histriomastix* which are in the distinctive stuttering style Marston developed in his poetic satires. After considerable work with Marston's poems and plays, I cannot pick out his lines by their rhythmic qualities alone, even in his acknowledged plays; and no one has as yet been able to distinguish definitely his lines in *Eastward Ho*, in which we know he collaborated with Chapman and Jonson. The truth is that a play cannot be written in a single style, particularly rant, and Marston's earliest acknowledged play, *Antonio and Melinda* (1599), shows that he was capable of considerable variations in style to suit his characters.

SHOOTING NIAGARA IN THE NOVELS OF THACKERAY AND TROLLOPE

By RUSSELL A. FRASER

"All things announce Democracy," wrote Carlyle, and wrung his hands. Only look about, and one is filled with "despair of finding any Heroes to govern." Men with great souls and vigorous thews give way to mere fellows: gregarious (like sheep), faint-hearted, dull-sighted. If they might discover some Bell-wether, "some ram of the folds"—but the search avails nothing. England has shot Niagara.

The reader's response is apt to be a trifle laconic. "Who reads an American book?" asked Sydney Smith. Who listens to the Sage of Chelsea today? But the disuse of Carlyle is unfortunate in this: if only one will listen, and "ponder well those ovine proceedings," he will understand, Carlyle insists, the nineteenth century in England. And it may be he will understand better the novel which that society produced.

For it is certainly true that in much serious fiction the hero who is larger than life, omniscient, of great achievement, has been displaced by one so realistically conceived, so deliberately average, so democratic, indeed, that the unheroic reader is often his match. One has only to put the figures of Fielding and Smollett against those of Thackeray and Trollope to measure the change that has occurred. But the former, it may be urged, are cartoons, however vital, who march from this munificent legacy to that triumphant marriage. Still, Harry Hotspur of the North was no Brummagem hero, nor did Shakespeare fear to celebrate his valor. There are men, real enough, true to life, who are worthy of epic adventure. Jean Valjean has that kind of stature. He is not a creature of fable, not unless one compares him with a tame villatic fowl like Johnny Eames, hero of Trollope's *The Small House at Allington*. What a juxtaposition that is! And what another that would pose the urban manner of an Arthur Pendennis against the dash and intrepidity of Stendhal's Fabrizio del Dongo! Yet these are contemporaries. One might almost conclude that the novelist in England despaired, with Carlyle, of that antique world when every abbey had its Jocelin de Brakelond; when a Willelmus Conquaestor did not tolerate "one hour's jargon, on the propriety of killing"—well, whomever; when "of those *good* yeomen whose limbs were made in England" there was brought forth a Samuel Johnson.²

"All things announce Democracy." And in consequence one settles

¹ *Past and Present*, Chap. XIII; Boswell's "Life of Johnson," ed. C. F. Har-
rard and W. D. Templeman (New York, 1938), p. 53.

² *Past and Present*, Chap. XIII; Boswell's "Life of Johnson," p. 81.

for a very modest hero in a milieu quite comfortably domestic. Thus Anthony Trollope, while affirming a belief in the goodness of most human beings, is not by half so convinced of their greatness.³ And though he is a master of detail, though his characters are remarkably finished, one feels, at times acutely, the lack of a sorting intelligence: what judgment may one infer from so many facts? to what, finally, do they point? Trollope rarely makes answer. It is as if he disbelieves in a self-conscious or single-minded individual, whose virtues and foibles tend at last to one central impression, who is instinct with some kind of dedication, who goes forward like a vector in pursuit of good or evil, whose life—read aright, which is to say, artistically—has a meaning that abides with the reader, and about whom therefore is an uncommon stature or size.

But the curiosity of Trollope, writes Michael Sadleir in a truly capital comment, "seems suave rather than searching, his observation to have more of scope than of discrimination."⁴ The sort of persons going now neither bear nor merit generalization; they are rather this and that, and the sum of what they are is not of particular import. If there were giants before the flood, they have long since been overwhelmed. Indeed, it is better so, for Trollope, the greatest advocate in English fiction of the world as it goes, deplored above all things the eccentric. So to Rhoda Broughton on her novel, *Not Wisely but too Well*: "You fall into the common faults of the young, making that which is prosaic in life too prosaic, and that which is poetic, too poetic. The fault here is of exaggeration."⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to find in Trollope's novels neither rascals who, just because they are unregenerate, have a bleak nobility about them, nor heroes who count the world well lost for some impossible ideal.

There is of course the Reverend Mr. Crawley, of *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, and it is no accident that he, that twisted saint, should figure in Trollope's finest novel. But somehow Crawley's rectitude is uncomfortable, fanatic: "It's not natural; and the world wouldn't go on if there were many like that" (LXXIV). It is not Trollope who speaks, but one feels that Trollope concurs. What, one might ask, if Crawley had stolen that cheque whose theft is the basis of the story? Here is a wild surmise: for to treat of such a fall, to envisage it even, was surely outside Trollope's ken. Adolphus Crosbie, in *The Small House*, is not permitted to seduce Lily Dale, and this not at bottom because Trollope was "Victorian," but rather because he could not have encompassed the heightened emotion that

³ See *Last Chronicle of Barset*, Chap. VII: "But, as there are men who will allow themselves all imaginable latitude in their treatment of women, believing that the world will condone any amount of fault of that nature, so there are other men, and a class of men which on the whole is the more numerous of the two, who are tremblingly alive to the danger of censure on this head."

⁴ *Trollope: A Commentary* (London, 1928), p. 366.

⁵ Letter dated June 28, 1868, in *Letters of Anthony Trollope*, ed. B. A. Booth (London, 1951), p. 379.

kind of situation entailed. But if the fact that Lily never falls—could not fall—debars her from the height where an Emma Bovary paces, it also saves Trollope from the bathos of a Steerforth and Little Em'ly set piece.

Trollope was wise enough almost always, and it is an index of his skill as a writer, to understand just how far he might go. High tragedy he did not essay. The death of Mrs. Proudie is an occasion profoundly touching, but one observed entirely from without. We do not enter at all into the final agony of the Bishop's wife. A more memorable scene, and one which graces that fine novel, *Barchester Towers*, with a beginning incomparably dramatic, is the death of old Dr. Grantly. His son, the archdeacon (and on the whole he is a dutiful son), attends on that death and is all the while of two minds about it; for he knows that the government will appoint him to the place of his father—if that father will only die before the government goes down. Here, then, is the perfect conflict; whole novels have been eked out of less. Trollope disposes of it in a chapter. His treatment of it excels. Nonetheless, it is muted, exterior. He is always at one remove from his characters in the moment of their greatest trial. Thereby he denies them tragic stature.

In the lives of his best and most popular figures, there is lacking neither sorrow nor mischance. What could be less euepeptic than the tale of John Eames and Lily Dale? Yet neither feels constrained to put off laughter. Neither, if he live ever so long, will utter execrations and fall into a decline. Men have died from time to time, and worms have eaten them, but not for love. There is in Trollope's philosophy no Man of the Hill nor a Timon of Athens; there are no Heathcliffes nor Miss Havishams. Dickens believes in them and, believing, stands apart from most writers of his time who were writers in earnest. But Dickens in a tragical vein does not carry entire conviction: "It is a far, far better thing that I do, than I have ever done; it is a far, far better rest that I go to, than I have ever known." This is declamation; but just because Dickens sought to portray the heroism of Sidney Carton, and the broken heart of Miss Havisham, and the malignity of Fagin and Sikes, his view of humanity is grander than Trollope's, more ambitious than Thackeray's.

The Apollos of this world won't wash, said Lily Dale, who had reason to think so.⁶ Trollope thought so, too. His workaday heroes dramatize that conviction. His "little brown girls," Lucy Robarts, Mary Thorne, underline it. These are not madonnas, but very serviceable matrons, and "we know," declares Trollope, "that Rembrandt's matrons existed; but we have a strong belief that no such woman as Raphael painted ever did exist."⁷ This is to give up a good deal, to sacrifice the poetry of an idealized creation to the more prosaic ren-

⁶ *Last Chronicle of Barset*, Chap. XVI.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. LXXXIV.

dering of realistic biography. Trollope's biographies—and one may so describe them—are plump with fact, with copious detail meticulously observed. But the vision of a poet is not apparent in them. And if Thackeray stands higher than Trollope, the difference between them is one, not of kind, but of degree. For Thackeray also disbelieved in Apollo, eschewed also and equally the august and the squalid: "the fault here is of exaggeration."

What he saw and chose to write about was a world not inspiring but certainly mundane. So, he avers, of *Vanity Fair*, this subject "We might have treated . . . in the genteel, or in the romantic, or in the facetious manner. Suppose we had laid the scene in Grosvenor Square," as Disraeli or Bulwer-Lytton would have done. "Or instead of the supremely genteel, suppose we had resorted to the entirely low, and described what was going on in Mr. Sedley's kitchen," reverted, that is to say, to the world of C. Jeames de la Pluche. Alternatively, one might have "taken a fancy for the terrible, and made the lover of the new *femme de chambre* a professional burglar, who bursts into the house with his band, slaughters black Sambo at the feet of his master, and carries off Amelia in her nightdress, not to be let loose again till the third volume." The sensational picaros of Ainsworth, of Morier, and of Lever—as musty as Willemus Conquaestor, and wedded as completely to the past—were precedents ready to hand. "But," and Thackeray does to death whatever expectations have been aroused, "my readers must hope for no such romance, only a homely story" (VI).

It is a domestic tale he will tell, then, and those who admire "the great and heroic in life and novels . . . had better take warning and go elsewhere" (I). Be the subject ever so stirring, it is rendered deliberately, even mockingly, prosaic. Who were the fabled Ajax and Achilles? Beefeaters both, who, like their fellow-warrior Rawdon Crawley, made a misalliance, fell in love with their "servant-maids." Hard measure for the lovely Briseis! For the exploits of antique heroes Thackeray cares not a straw, unless, indeed, they afford an analogy to the mundane affairs of his own little people: "don't we see every day in the world many an honest Hercules at the apron-strings of Omphale, and great whiskered Samsons prostrate in Delilah's lap" (XVI)?

Most telling of all is the treatment of that epochal event which forms a background to the story of Becky and Amelia. For *Vanity Fair* is, or would be, a historical novel, even as those of Charles Reade and G. P. R. James. Yet what a difference one discovers. The eagles of Napoleon Bonaparte, perched but lately in Elba, fly now from Provence, now from the towers of Notre Dame. Well, and what is their purport? The making miserable of "a poor little harmless girl of eighteen, who is occupied in billing and cooing, or working muslin collars in Russell Square"; the utter bankrupting of John

Sedley, her luckless father. The "domestic comedy of *Vanity Fair*" which Thackeray engages to perform "would never have been enacted without the intervention of this august mute personage" (XVIII), this Corsican upstart. And that is the significance of Napoleon.

There are topics more pregnant, after all. "The greatest event of history" is pending, and Peggy O'Dowd, whose Major is soon to give battle, talks of the horses in the stables at Glenmalony; Jos Sedley of rice and curry at Dumdum; and Amelia of her beloved George Osborne (XXVIII). The bugle that musters the armies wakes her from sleep; the ball that finds out her husband's heart pierces her own as well. And if her agonies are unrecorded in the chronicles of war, Thackeray sets himself to indite them. Victor Hugo takes the reader to the field of Waterloo, shows him all the splendor and the terror thereof. The author of *Vanity Fair* is ensconced, for his part, safe in Brussels. "Our place," he confesses, "is with the non-combatants. When the decks are cleared for action we go below and wait meekly . . . [with] the major's wife, and the ladies and the baggage" (XXX). His theme is "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

Complementing that theme are his characters: puppets in a melancholy play. Their names are often morality names. Cuff is a bully and Cackle a gossip and Ensign Stubble the soldier who has just begun to shave. When the play is played out, the author bids us "shut up the box and the puppets" (LXVII), as if they themselves had no voice in the matter, were quite without volition: little figures set to a dance.

Dobbin is the biggest and best of their number, but it is always Heigh-ho Dobbin, the awkward if faithful old horse. All agree in condescending to him, even Waterloo Sedley, that figure of dignified otiosity. His love for Amelia is like the attachment of the poor boy at school for the contents of the tartwoman's tray: he is given all the license in the world to look his fill (LIX). There is something unworthy in a thralldom so perverse. Dobbin is debased by it; but so is Esmond, forever adoring his Beatrix; and Laura, stooping after Pendennis; and Colonel Newcome, bowing tamely, beyond the reader's endurance, to the tyranny of Mrs. Mackenzie. One feels the same discomfort in the refusal of Johnny Eames to give over his long pursuit of Lily Dale: "I would / Love you ten years before the Flood."

But one doesn't, really—not without some prospect of success; and in the refusal of Thackeray and Trollope to countenance success is a kind of self-laceration. Mrs. Brookfield is always another man's wife. There is no ecstasy, no romantic consummation. What a hollow triumph is Dobbin's when he marries; what a feeling of sourness is engendered thereby in the reader. But Dobbin and his middling success are what they had to be. For the sophisticated writer, who believes that proper heroes have long since been interred, settles for

this unsophisticated person, the honest man who is something of a dolt. It is the best he can do.

George Osborne, "that young whiskered prig" (XIV), is not meant for a hero, but only a child lost in *Vanity Fair*. But in his conceit, his patronizing airs, he resembles Clive Newcome and Arthur Pendennis, who are meant without doubt to be heroes. And when George declares, of Amelia, to Dobbin, "I adore her, and that sort of thing" (XIII), one is drawn irresistibly to compare him with Trollope's Lord Lufton, a good sort of man, who considers the disgrace of Reverend Crawley: "We must do something for the whole family." Then, with scarcely a change in inflection: "I say, Thorne, you haven't half the game here that there used to be in poor old Sowerby's time" (XIV).

This, Trollope would say, is the way we live now. But Trollope and Thackeray were not especially sanguine. Not for them the hero, beautiful and puissant, who makes head against the powers of darkness. The age of the aristocrat closes. The age of the democrat succeeds. One records the annals of a Sidney, where he fought and where he fell. Every picaro from Jack Wilton down dramatizes in vulgar terms that concern. The other compounds for "no such romance, only a homely story." Against the awful gloom of Herbert Spencer, Carlyle's Dryasdust come to life, the picaresque hero could not stand. God is great, perhaps, but men are not great. "Let us shut up the box and the puppets." The age of the hero has passed.

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THE ENGLISH NOVEL
A CRITICAL VIEW, 1756-1785

PART I

By CLAUDE E. JONES

During the first thirty years of its existence (1756-1785), the *Critical Review*, begun as a Tory opponent to Griffiths' Whig *Monthly Review*, devoted considerable space to critiques of prose fiction. This period is one of bustle and evaluation rather than of solid accomplishment in the genre, inasmuch as only two major novelists were publishing: Sterne and Smollett. The latter, in addition to his labors as historian, translator, and novelist, was one of the first editors of the new *Critical Review*.

The present article will treat of the *Critical's* attitude toward the novel-reading public, as well as toward the publishers of novels and their "warehouses," the circulating libraries. It will include the reviewers' comments on individual authors and their works and will attempt to formulate the criteria by which prose fiction was judged in the *Critical*. Unable to base his criticism on any body of accepted rules, each critic was faced with the necessity of concocting his own scale of values, usually founded on his own "common sense." Yet some basic critical standards do appear because most critics realized that the novel was apt to exert a very considerable influence upon the thousands of readers, especially women, who were hastening to the newly formed circulating libraries in search of amusement.

It was only after the development of these circulating libraries during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century¹ that publishers could depend on a large demand for any long prose fiction with an enticing title page. The reading public which supported these lending libraries apparently comprised, for the most part, women and children, servants and idle beaus. A *Critical* writer, in 1756, calls novels "food for idle templars, raw prentices, and green girls, that support the circulating libraries of this learned metropolis."² Five years later the reviewer of *Tristram Shandy* mentions "novel readers, from the stale maiden of quality to the snuff-taking chambermaid. . . ."³ Another critic says,

The taste for novel writing and novel reading is grown so universal amongst us, that it might be deemed a *crimen lese majestatis* against the public, to call it in question; more especially as it would be encroaching on the privileges and

¹ See A. S. Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson* (London, 1927), pp. 245-47; J. M. S. Tompkins, *Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800* (London, 1932), pp. 1-33; George Lyttleton, *Dialogues of the Dead* (London, 1760), Dialogue 28; *Annual Register*, I (1761), 207; J. T. Taylor, *Early Opposition to the English Novel* (New York, 1943), pp. [21]-51.

² II (Nov., 1756), 379.

³ XI (April, 1761), 316. See *The Rivals*, I, ii.

pleasures of the fair sex, who have an indisputable right to amuse themselves in what manner they please. . . .⁴

In the same vein, Samuel Johnson had commented in the *Rambler* in 1750:

These books are written chiefly to the young, the ignorant, and the idle, to whom they serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life. They are the entertainment of minds unfurnished with ideas, and therefore easily susceptible to impressions.⁵

These comments hint of another feature which I shall consider at length later in this article: the necessity for sound morals in those works which were read by unformed minds. This is so important, however, that it may be briefly mentioned here as well. Johnson had gone on to say: "That the highest degree of reverence should be paid to youth, and that nothing indecent should be suffered to approach their eyes or ears, are precepts exhorted by sense and virtue."⁶ The same spirit is apparent when the *Critical* advocates the introduction of middle-class characters into novels.⁷ One reviewer discourses on the evils of introducing "notions of romantic felicity" to women readers,⁸ and another appeals to parents against indecencies.⁹ The work of one author is praised because it is suitable for children.¹⁰ That high moral standards were taken seriously by the critics appears from the number of references to these standards and from the comments on the pernicious effect which improper novels have on unfortified virtue and untutored minds. The critics did not consider novels "pretty, light, summer reading" which "do well at Tunbridge, Bristol, and other watering places,"¹¹ because they could not forget that, as John Aiken expressed it, "To the writer of fiction alone, every ear is open, and every tongue lavish of applause; curiosity sparkles in every eye and every bosom is throbbing with concern."¹²

The most important channel through which novels reached the reading public during this period was the rapidly growing body of circulating libraries. In 1739 or 1740, a dissenting minister, Samuel Fancourt, set up the first circulating library in London;¹³ Allan

⁴ XVI (Aug., 1763), 108; and see XVI (Dec., 1763), 449; see also VII (Jan., 1759), 68: "Novels are chiefly read by those whose affections are stronger than their judgment."

⁵ No. 4 (March 31).

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Review of *The History of Miss Temple* in XLIII (June, 1777), 473.

⁸ XXX (Dec., 1770), 460.

⁹ XXX (Dec., 1770), 488.

¹⁰ Review of *Agenor and Ismena* in VIII (Nov., 1759), 408.

¹¹ Samuel Foote, *The Actor*, I, ii.

¹² *Miscellaneous Pieces*, 3rd ed. (London, 1792), p. 41.

¹³ Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson*, p. 245. But see H. R. Plomer et al., *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1726-1775* (London, 1932), where Francis and John Noble are said to have "commenced a circulating library in Holborn in 1739 (?), said to be one of the first four that were established in London."

Ramsay had started one in Edinburgh some fifteen years earlier.¹⁴ In 1743 a Mr. Wright appeared as rival of the Rev. Mr. Fancourt, and charged sixteen shillings a year as compared with the minister's fee of a guinea. Joseph Lackington, a London bookseller, says:

I have been informed that when circulating libraries were first opened, the booksellers were much alarmed, and their rapid increase, added to their fears, had led them to think that the sale of books would be much diminished by such libraries. But experience has proved that the sale of books, so far from being diminished by them, has been greatly promoted, as from those repositories many thousand families have been cheaply supplied with books, by which the taste of reading has become much more general, and thousands of books are purchased every year, by such as have first borrowed them at those libraries, and after reading, approving of them, became purchasers.¹⁵

By 1775 there were at least ten circulating libraries in the metropolis,¹⁶ besides the many which were scattered throughout the rest of Great Britain.

Of the provincial institutions, the *Annual Register* notes in 1761 that "The reading female hires her novels from some County Circulating Library, which consists of about a hundred volumes."¹⁷ Miss Tompkins says that the subscription price was usually half a guinea a year, three shillings a quarter,¹⁸ while the *Critical* speaks of "the expence of ten shillings a year from a circulating library."¹⁹

Because of the popularity of these establishments, much of the *Critical's* comment on novel readers in general is directed toward their clientele. On the whole, the reviewers disapproved of circulating libraries and the books in which they specialized. In 1758 a critic says, the ladies and lady-like gentlemen of this age employ their leisure hours in the reading of plays and romances, and three parts of the fashionable world confine all their knowledge within the narrow limits of a *Circulating Library*.²⁰

Six years later, *A Trip to the Moon* was considered "well enough calculated for the subscribers to circulating libraries, who read merely to kill time. . . ."²¹

The *Critical's* pet aversion was "Mr. Noble's novel manufactory," whose feud with the reviews began at least as early as 1756, when a

¹⁴ Frank Arthur Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling* (London, 1930), p. 213 n.

¹⁵ *Memoirs* (London, 1803), p. 255. It is significant that, in our own day, recording companies had the same experience with radio. In time, the motion picture industry will probably realize that in television it has a comparable medium.

¹⁶ In London, circulating libraries were operated by the following men in 1775: Francis and John Noble, Wright, Willoughby Minors (or Mynors), John Fuller, Thomas Lowndes, A. Cooke, Samuel James, Thomas Hookham, Thomas Jordan Hookham, Samuel Noble. For complete details concerning the circulating libraries throughout Great Britain, and dates of their founding, see Plomer *et al.*, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, *passim*.

¹⁷ I (1761), 207. If true, this suggests between 25 and 40 novels.

¹⁸ Tompkins, *Popular Novel*, p. 8.

¹⁹ XV (April, 1763), 326.

²⁰ VI (Aug., 1758), 149.

²¹ XVII (June, 1764), 432.

Critical reviewer wrote of "the innumerable pieces of the novel manufacture which have proceeded from the warehouse of Mr. Noble."²² In February of the following year this statement is found: "Among the many miserable pieces that have fallen into the hands of the authors of the CRITICAL REVIEW, they have found none so bad as the novels published by Noble."²³ In the *Critical's* castigation of the author of *The Fortunate Villager*, the following appears:

This wretched gareteer having, like a starved spider in some neglected privy, exhausted his whole substance in his own flimsy webs, is obliged to prey upon his neighbours. . . . [He had better] inlist himself among the day-labourers of Messieurs N—, who never paid to any author for his labour a sum equal to the wages of a journeyman taylor. . . . [The Nobles are] professed midwives for souterkins in wit, hucksters for literary trash, and haberdashers of small ware in writing.²⁴

This feud continued at least until 1771, when a critic remarked, "Mr. Noble is a very industrious purveyor for his fair readers. . . ."²⁵ Even after this, however, the *Critical* continued to censure the material furnished to circulating libraries by publishers who took advantage of the new market.

Serial publication in magazines provided another market for novelists in this period. Probably the first full-length novel to be published serially was Smollett's *Sir Launcelot Greaves*. It was printed in 1760 in the *British Magazine* (a chapter in each issue), which the novelist was editing.²⁶ Magazine serials are rare, however, until after 1785 and do not receive any comment from the critics.

The popularity of the novel led authors who needed money to try their hand at this new form. This was also the case with history. Almost every professional man of letters during our period wrote at least one novel, while for many it was a major source of income. That publishers frequently took advantage of the urgency of authors' needs appears probable from many anecdotes, including the case of Dr. John Cleland, who received only twenty guineas for his lewd *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (i.e., *Fanny Hill*), from which Griffiths, the publisher, made a profit of £10,000.²⁷ On the other hand, Goldsmith was

²² XVI (Dec., 1763), 449; II (Nov., 1756), 351. Miss Tompkins dates the unpopularity of the house of Noble at about 1768, and considers that the *Impartial Review* was responsible for first attacking the publishing house. See her interesting account in *Popular Novel*, pp. 14-15.

²³ III (Feb., 1757), 187.

²⁴ III (April, 1757), 384.

²⁵ XXXI (March, 1771), 232.

²⁶ At the same time, Smollett was engaged as editor of the *Critical*. The year 1760 marked also his term in prison for libeling Admiral Knowles. Apparently the first "novel" to be so published in England was the picaresque novelette *The Rover*, which appeared from July through September, 1714, in the *British-Mercury*, a London fire insurance company journal. See my note in *N&Q* (May, 1956). For this, and other items published in installments, parts, and fascicules, see R. M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (Cambridge, 1957).

²⁷ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II, 458.

paid sixty guineas for *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1762);²⁸ *Amelia* (1751) brought Fielding £1,000; and Sterne earned some £700 by *Tristram Shandy* (1760-1767). These were highwater marks, however, until the nineties, when Fanny Burney received £3,000 for her *Camilla* (1796), which was published by subscription;²⁹ Mrs. Radcliffe, £900 for *The Italian*; and Mrs. Inchbald, £1,000 to £1,500 for her *Simple Story* (1791) and *Nature and Art* (1796). During the period 1756-1785, according to Miss Tompkins, "The usual payment for a library novel seems to have been between five and ten guineas, and the profit could be doubled by a judicious dedication."³⁰ (One wonders if this were true of Fanny Burney's *Evelina* [1778], which was dedicated "To the authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews.") A *Critical* author stated in 1763, concerning the activities of "novel factories":

The booksellers, those pimps of literature, take care every winter to procure a sufficient quantity of tales, memoirs, and romances for the entertainment of their customers. . . . The circulating librarians . . . whose very beings depend on amusements of this kind, set their authors to work regularly every season, and, without the least grain of compassion for us poor Reviewers, who are obliged to read their performances, pester the public with their periodical nonsense.³¹

Twelve years later, a reviewer remarks, "the province of romance-writing is generally usurped by mercenaries. . . ."³²

One of the remarkable features of the growth of the novel market was the new opportunity which it opened to women writers. This form, which could be written by tyros with more likelihood of financial success than either poetry or drama, attracted a great number of women who lived outside the capital. The most important women novelists of this period—Hannah More, Fanny Burney, and Clara Reeve—helped to establish a vogue which was to result in the work of Ann Radcliffe, Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, and the Brontës.³³

The attitude in the *Critical* toward women authors is not what we might expect from such a hard-headed conservative group as critics and editors have always been considered. For, despite the condescension which they frequently mingled with amusement, the reviewers show a much greater tolerance for women writers than for men. Of course, this is deliberately done and frequently pointed up because the critics are eager to please women readers, either directly or by

²⁸ Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson*, p. 30. Other interesting material concerning the relative positions of authors and publishers occurs on pages 7-113.

²⁹ Tompkins, *Popular Novel*, p. 10; see also p. 9 n.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9. See also A. S. Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson*, pp. 15-45; and his *Profession of Letters* (London, 1928), pp. 84-105.

³¹ XVI (Dec., 1763), 449.

³² XXXIX (May, 1775), 426.

³³ For a general discussion of women novelists and their work, see Tompkins, *Popular Novel*, pp. 116-77. Early in the century the following women had had success in prose fiction: Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Haywood, and Mrs. Aubin.

applauding the literary aspirants among "the Sex." The reviewer of Mrs. Clive's *The History of Amanda*, for example, observed in February, 1758: "As this is the work of a lady, to be severely critical, would be impolite."³⁴ In June, 1770, a critic remarked, "The productions of a lady ought not to be condemned with asperity, unless they transgress against that delicacy and decorum by which the fair sex should always distinguish themselves." One is tempted, however, to suspect a privy pun in the following: "The Lady's Letter complaining of ill-treatment with respect to a Novel lately published, is received; and will be made a proper use of,"³⁵ which sounds as though the Smollettian type of humor had not left the *Review* with its originator.

Some male authors, however, now "added female impersonation to their bag of tricks."³⁶ The *Critical* was aware of this, as appears from a comment made in 1778: "We suspect that Madame la Comtesse may be found in some British garret, without breeches, perhaps, but yet not in petticoats."³⁷ An earlier remark, concerning a Noble publication, *Each Sex in their Humour*, is interesting: "The ascribing this performance to a *Lady of Quality* is so a stale device. . . ."³⁸

The main features of novel-writing and novel-reading at this time are: (1) the steady growth of the public served by circulating libraries; (2) the fact that almost all professional men of letters turned to novel-writing for money, usually without taking the genre seriously as an art form; (3) women writers and readers supplied much of both material and support; (4) the critics were aware that the serious writer could fashion the novel at will, unhampered by rules or requirements; and (5) the novel was widely considered to have unprecedented moral potentialities.

I shall now consider the criticism of the novel itself, the general comments of reviewers on the form, the rules and regulations which the critics tried to impose on it, their attitude toward the romanticisms which flourished in the novels of this period, the *Critical*'s requirements as to style and its treatment of the early important novelists (Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett), and finally the *Critical*'s appraisal of contemporary authors.

While the critics did not disapprove of the novel as a genre, they denounced most examples of it. The remark of one writer, during the review's first year, is an indication of their general attitude:

The season is now advancing, when that dunghill *the town* never fails to produce an innumerable quantity of *literary mushrooms* of various kinds, which spring up one day and decay the next. *Novels* generally usher in the *Winter* as snow-

³⁴ V (Feb., 1758), 172. The following quotation appears in XXIX (June, 1770), 474.

³⁵ XL (Dec., 1775), 488 n.

³⁶ Tompkins, *Popular Novel*, p. 120.

³⁷ XLV (April, 1778), 316; see also XXXVII (April, 1774), 317.

³⁸ XVI (Dec., 1763), 450.

drops do the *Spring*, and, like *them*, have little beauty to recommend them. . . (II [October, 1756], 275)

Some three years later, a reviewer says, "The reader need scarcely ask our opinion when a modern novel is the subject; and to characterize a romance, is almost synonymous with censure."³⁹ In 1777 this comment appears:

The abuse of novel writing is so great, that it has almost brought that species of entertainment into discredit. Meagre stories, flatly told, and drawled through many tedious volumes with no other view than a little dirty emolument, have overwhelmed us like a flood; and the names of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett have often been cruelly tortured by their imitators.⁴⁰

One result of this general disgust with novels was that the reviewers were usually content with sketchy critiques, some of which show no knowledge of the contents of the books under consideration. Of course, this led the novelists to claim that writers for the monthly reviews did not even read the books they criticized. The *Critical's* answers, which will be considered chronologically, are interesting.

As early as May, 1757, the following comment is made in the review of a Noble publication, *True Merit True Happiness*: "Such pieces of incoherency, absurdity, and nonsense? if we fling them aside, without reading them through, as unworthy of the public attention, will any body blame us?"⁴¹ In January, 1758, the same publishers were addressed as follows:

As Mess. Noble have frequently taken the liberty to call in question both our abilities and integrity . . . and most imprudently asserted that we give our judgments of things which we have never read, we have here taken the pains to analyse this flimsy and miserable performance [*The History of Miss Sally Sable*], a trouble which they must not expect we shall take for the future.⁴²

Of *The Happy Orphans*, a reviewer remarks in 1759, "We were willing to suspend our account of this production, till we had leisure to read it; an honour not due to many of the novels of these our romancing days."⁴³ Ten years later, a critic asserted, "we *do* read those books we presume to censure or commend."⁴⁴ The last comment on the subject in this period occurs in 1772:

If ever we could deserve the imputation of reviewing any of the productions that come before us, in too cursory a manner, the fault would certainly be most pardonable in the walk of romance. . . Extravagant characters, and a series of romantic adventures, which terminate in marriage, are the usual subjects of a novel.⁴⁵

³⁹ VII (May, 1759), 460; see also I (March, 1756), 125, and XXXV (June, 1773), 475: "we very rarely meet with any [novels] we can honestly praise."

⁴⁰ XLIII (June, 1777), 473.

⁴¹ III (May, 1757), 469.

⁴² V (Jan., 1758), 31.

⁴³ VII (Feb., 1759), 174.

⁴⁴ XXVIII (Nov., 1769), 370.

⁴⁵ XXXII (Nov., 1771), 372; see also XXXIV (Aug., 1772), 154.

Thus it appears that the critics thoroughly disapproved of contemporary fiction as a whole. Possibly this condemnation led Ernest Baker to remark:

The inability, or at any rate the failure of the younger novelists to avail themselves fully of the new technique . . . was due partly to there being no complete theory of the novel accepted by both authors and critics, and then to the short-sightedness of the reviewers, who seem to have been unaware that the novel had become, or was capable of being, not simply a light form of entertainment, but as legitimate and comprehensive a mode of critical, or imaginative, or serio-comic portraiture of human existence as the play or the narrative poem.⁴⁶

Baker says further, "The novel was not a subject dignified enough; no critic had the insight to think it worthwhile."

Such criticisms of the reviewers read well, but they leave much to be said. The point which Baker has missed entirely is that there never has been a "complete theory of the novel accepted by both authors and critics," at least in England or America. Further, the novel was "dignified enough," and some critics did have "the insight to think it worthwhile." The critics were also aware that the novel was capable of being a "mode of critical, or imaginative, or serio-comic portraiture of human existence. . . ."

It is interesting to note that Joseph Heidler, whose study of the criticism of English prose fiction during this period is one of the best works on the subject to date, says:

The critics in general apparently began to realize that the novel was a genre as worthy of consideration as the epic and the drama. They ceased to consider it merely as a pleasing diversion for women and children or as a means of inculcating virtue. Instead, they viewed it as an artistic unit, and discussed in that connection the plot, the characters, the sentiments, and the diction.⁴⁷

What standards of criticism were to be applied to this new form of literature best come to light from within the criticisms themselves. These took into account the general criteria and the individual rules concerning morality, sentimentality, the inclusion of love, characterization, and the necessity for probability.

Inasmuch as there were no established rules for the novel, such as existed for drama and poetry, the critics were forced to create standards and restrictions of their own. They toyed with the possibility of judging the new form by those classical precepts which were available for other genres. Occasionally a critic compared a novel to the epic—not the serious epic of the ancients, but Fielding's new "comic

⁴⁶ *History of the English Novel* (London, 1934), V, 13. The following quotation appears on p. 14.

⁴⁷ *The History, from 1700 to 1800, of English Criticism of Prose Fiction*, reprinted from the University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XIII (1928), No. 2, p. 46; and see pp. 86-145. Heidler includes an interesting list of critical *loci* for this period, pp. 174-75. His statement of purpose occurs on p. 46: "I seek but one end, a brief sketch of the relative dependence of the criticism of prose fiction on that of the older genres."

epos."⁴⁸ According to André Le Breton⁴⁹ and Miss Dallas,⁵⁰ the conception of the novel as epic was common in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in France. Antoine Furetière's *Roman Bourgeois* (1666), for example, begins, "I sing the loves and adventures of many Parisian bourgeois." Fielding, in 1752, said of *Amelia*, "I followed the Rules of all those who are acknowledged to have writ best on the subject . . . neither Homer nor Virgil pursued them with greater care than myself."⁵¹

As late as 1785, a *Critical* writer spoke with approval of "a new creation in the literary world, the comic epos, of which Tom Jones was so brilliant an example."⁵² Critics of the novel also cite both epic and drama to support poetic justice,⁵³ one aspect of moral teaching. Yet, on the whole, the *Critical* reviewers did not stress the parallel between novel and epic to the degree which one would expect from Heidler's statement, "It was from the critical dicta concerning the epic that the critics of prose fiction borrowed most heavily."⁵⁴

The poetic justice which they approved⁵⁵ may have been borrowed, for the most part, from the drama rather than from the epic, inasmuch as the novel is frequently compared to the former. One reviewer remarks,

When novels take a turn like this [Sarah Fielding's *The History of the Countess of Delwyn*], in ridiculing the fashionable follies of the times, they are certainly useful, and serve as a tolerable substitute to comedy, now almost banished from the stage.⁵⁶

The review of one of the most popular books of the eighteenth century, *The History of Sanford and Merton*, offers the following comment: "It is equally true of these kinds of works, and of dramatic compositions, if they are not interesting, they will, like the ineffective weapon, fall useless to the ground."⁵⁷ In general, however, the atti-

⁴⁸ See Ethel M. Thornbury, *Henry Fielding's Theory of the Comic Prose Epic*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 30 (Madison, 1931).

⁴⁹ *Le Roman au XVIII^{ème} Siècle* (Paris [n.d.]).

⁵⁰ Dorothy Frances Dallas, *Le Roman Français de 1660 à 1680* (Paris, 1932), Chap. I.

⁵¹ *Covent Garden Journal*, No. 8 (Tues., Jan. 28, 1752). Heidler (p. 54) also cites Fielding's preface to the second edition of Sarah Fielding's *Adventures of David Simple* (1744).

⁵² LX (July, 1785), 57.

⁵³ XLVII (May, 1779), 374.

⁵⁴ *History . . . of English Criticism*, p. 47.

⁵⁵ Cf. XXIV (Nov., 1767), 349; XXV (April, 1768), 295.

⁵⁶ VII (April, 1759), 378. And see Tompkins, *Popular Novel*, p. 206: "Good sense had turned out of doors the high-flown and now faded pomp of the *Grand Cyrus*, in order that the novel might establish domestic tragedy and the comedy of manners on the model of Richardson and Fielding." The "banishing" was, of course, due to the Licensing Act of 1737.

⁵⁷ LVII (March, 1784), 235-36. An interesting transference from drama to novel of the neo-classical attitude toward tragicomedy appears in XV (Jan., 1763), 16: "[A shocking catastrophe] ought never to find a place in a romance which professes to wear the sock. . . ."

tude of the critics toward borrowing criteria from these two forms may be expressed in this manner:

Whether novel-writing ought to observe epic or dramatic rules, is of very little consequence to the public. Like the modern taste in gardening, it is often most pleasing when it appears to be the result of nature. . . .⁵⁸

In this case, *nature* probably means "true to life," for one of the most important features of the *Critical's* treatment of the novel is the reviewers' consistent praise of those works which are probable and portray such characters and scenes as those with which the novelist himself may be familiar. That realism was enjoyed before the *Review* began is evident both from the popularity of picaresque elements throughout the early history of English prose fiction, and by remarks such as this from the *Rambler* in 1750:

The works of fiction, with which the present generation seems more particularly delighted, are such as exhibit life in its true state, diversified only by accidents that daily happen in the world, and influenced by passions and qualities which are really to be found in conversing with mankind.⁵⁹

The desire of *Critical* writers for realism is most apparent in their treatment of such aspects of the novel as morality, sentimentality, probability, and characterization. Two points may be mentioned here. The first is one critic's claim, "Allegorical pieces do perhaps, as abounding in the descriptive, more properly belong to the province of poetry, whose various graces and ornaments, should seem better adapted to them."⁶⁰ The second is another's approval of the portrayal of real life in the novel: "A novel which is founded on facts, though it may not always prove so entertaining, in respect of incidents, is free, however, from those blemishes which arise from the extravagance of ungoverned invention."⁶¹

Miss Tompkins asserts that "The professional critic was ready to talk about anything rather than form."⁶² To a great extent this is true, probably because interest in experiments with form had, for the most part, died out among the novelists, who were content to follow in the tracks of their successful predecessors: Richardson, Smollett,

⁵⁸ XXVIII (Aug., 1769), 132.

⁵⁹ No. 4 (March 31, 1750), where the author continues, "This kind of writing may be termed not improperly the comedy of romance, and is to be conducted nearly by the rules of comic poetry." See also *Castle of Otranto*, preface to 2nd ed.: "In the former [ancient romances] all was imagination and improbability; in the later [modern romances or novels] nature is always intended to be, and sometimes has been, copied with success." As Walpole says, "My rule was nature"; however, his use of *nature* here differs from the "true to life" meaning above.

⁶⁰ IV (Aug., 1757), 166.

⁶¹ XLVI (Oct., 1778), 267. But see XXIV (Sept., 1767), 194: "According to the modern practice of novel writing, invention is the least part of the author's business, for he is chiefly employed in tacking together facts, circumstances, characters, and events, which have been *invented* already."

⁶² *Popular Novel*, p. 329. She adds: "During the eighties and nineties, however, we remark a growing interest in form, both among the better novelists and among the critics" (p. 330).

and Fielding. That the novelists were not averse to new models is apparent, however, from the multitude of imitations which followed Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*. It was timidity and lack of imagination, rather than a dislike for novelty, that held authors down to the epistolary and the picaresque, to imitations of Le Sage, Cervantes, and Lucian.

As a matter of fact, the critics showed considerable interest in form, although such criticism was destructive rather than helpful. The most popular novel type during this period is the heritage of Richardson. As Miss Tompkins says, "During the 'seventies the epistolary novel was at the height of its favour. . . . During the 'eighties it loses ground, though not to any marked extent."⁶³ In 1761 a *Critical* reviewer writes, "we must profess ourselves admirers of this [epistolary] kind of dramatic writing."⁶⁴ Two years later, however, the following strictures appear:

The story [The Misses Minifies' *The Histories of Lady Francis S— and Lady Caroline S—*] is told, after the manner of *Clarissa*, in a series of letters, a method, in our opinion, liable to many objections; particularly that of involving the history in great obscurity.⁶⁵

Four years later there is downright disapproval:

This novel [*The History of Miss Emelia Beville*] is of the epistolary kind; in a manner of writing which proves of infinite service to scanty materials, and a confined invention. The writer is at liberty to allot what portion he pleases of paper and print to sentimental reflections, moral observations, self-condemnation, self-applause, self-sufficiency, and, in short, self-every thing, which make most comfortable ekings-out to a barren subject.⁶⁶

The other popular forms which the novel took during this period are the picaresque, based on incident and featuring interpolated stories; the "Adventures" type in which the picaresque is adapted to satirical purposes; the mock-heroic, in imitation of *Don Quixote*; and the simple narrative, which was not frequent until 1785. There were also combinations, such as simple narrative with epistolary.

The most important single contribution during this period was made by Laurence Sterne, whose *Tristram Shandy* was imitated frequently. In this case, the critics admitted defeat; as one says,

It is peculiar to him to write in a manner that we can as little criticize as we can describe the clouds of last year. When we are reading his work, his meaning is so slippery that we cannot even analyse its contents; here we have him, there we have him, and we have him no where.⁶⁷

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 333. See also *Critical*, XXV (March, 1768), 209: "Another epistolary novel!"; XXVII (May, 1769), 373: "This novel [*The History of Miss Sommerville*], as usual, is carried on in the epistolary manner"; and see Godfrey Frank Singer, *The Epistolary Novel* (University of Pennsylvania thesis, 1933).

⁶⁴ XI (March, 1761), 186.

⁶⁵ XVI (Aug., 1763), 108.

⁶⁶ XXIV (Oct., 1767), 296. One development of the epistolary kind was the "novel in conversations" exemplified by James Penn, *The Surry Cottage*, for which see XLVIII (Nov., 1779), 398-99.

⁶⁷ XXI (Feb., 1766), 141.

Tristram Shandy is spoken of soon after its first appearance as having "given rise . . . to many monstrous productions";⁶⁸ and later a critic says, "The productions of the late Sterne have occasioned many light-armed troops to sally forth from Grub Street."⁶⁹ *The Adventures of a Hackney Coach*, for example, is censured because it affects the pathetic and sentimental manner of the celebrated *Tristram Shandy*, and "endeavours to imitate what is inimitable." The best summary of the *Critical* attitude follows: "The imitators of Sterne have seldom been able to boast of their success. Every one can break his sentences with dashes."⁷⁰ Sterne was not alone in inspiring imitation, however, for "Fielding's *Tom Jones* was the father of a whole race of wretched Foundlings."⁷¹

The following comments on *The Campaign* are interesting because they show that despite the adulation which Fielding usually received, the elements in his work which, in the hands of inferior writers, made for lack of unity, were recognized by the reviewer:

The author . . . seems to propose Mr. Fielding as his model: he affects to imitate him in his digressions; in his dry species of moralizing ironically; and in his quaint observations upon the familiar incidents of life: but, in our opinion, these digressions, and these remarks, are almost wholly uninformed by that which may be considered as the soul of Fielding's writings; we mean, that fund of native humour, which alone would keep up the reader's attention, through a long string of remarks, that frequently leave the action of the piece to languish.⁷²

The minutiae of Richardson are defended:

Richardson's intricate knowledge of, and acquaintance with human nature, rendered his minute investigations of little incidents and circumstances interesting and pathetic. In inferior writers they have too often a different effect. . . .⁷³

The reviewers censure the loose picaresque form, whose unity depends entirely on the reader's interest in the hero:

This mode of making up a book, and styling it the *Adventures of a Cat*, a *Dog*, a *Monkey*, a *Hackney-coach*, a *Louse*, a *Shilling*, a *Rupee*, or—any thing else, is grown so fashionable, that few months pass which do not bring one of them under our inspection. It is indeed a convenient method to writers of the inferior class, of emptying their common-place books, and throwing together all the farrago of public transactions, private characters, old and new stories, every thing, in short, which they can pick up, to afford a little amusement to an idle reader.⁷⁴

A criticism of the interpolated story, a very popular feature of the eighteenth-century novel and one which opposed unity of action, is found in the review of *Memoirs of a Young Lady of Quality*:

⁶⁸ XV (May, 1763), 373.

⁶⁹ XXXI (April, 1771), 297.

⁷⁰ LV (Feb., 1783), 156; see also LII (Aug., 1781), 159, and LII (Nov., 1781), 398.

⁷¹ XI (May, 1761), 394.

⁷² VII (Jan., 1759), 78; see also III (May, 1757), 476.

⁷³ LIV (Aug., 1782), 152; see also VII (Jan., 1759), 79.

⁷⁴ LII (Dec., 1781), 477-78.

All the adventures are related very pleasantly, and not only the characters of the lady's different lovers are well drawn; but several memoirs of indifferent persons introduced in a very entertaining manner; and tho' they do not absolutely contribute to carry on the business of the piece, they do not intrude so abruptly as to break the connexion of the story.⁷⁸

In general, the *Critical* demanded clarity and simplicity in a novel. Despite the reviewers' high opinion of Richardson and Fielding, as well as the tolerance (if not enthusiasm) with which they came to regard Sterne, they could see the limitation of the forms which these masters had employed. Although the critics never stated just what form the novel should take, their comments seem to indicate that they wanted a closely knit, simple structure in which characters could move freely but without license. If the critics came to be more tolerant of romantic improbabilities toward the end of the *Critical Review's* first thirty years, this tolerance is imperceptible. From 1756 to 1785, the ideal in form is simplicity and directness; in matter, it is the moral and the exemplary.

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⁷⁸ III (March, 1757), 258.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1957

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ADA</i>	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
<i>AUMLA</i>	Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association
<i>BA</i>	Books Abroad
<i>BBCS</i>	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
<i>BBSIA</i>	Bulletin Bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne
<i>Beiträge</i> (Halle)	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Halle)
<i>Beiträge</i> (Tübingen)	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen)
<i>BHR</i>	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
<i>CE</i>	College English
<i>CL</i>	Comparative Literature
<i>CN</i>	Cultura Neolatina
<i>DA</i>	Dissertation Abstracts
<i>DAEM</i>	Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters
<i>DLZ</i>	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
<i>DU</i>	Der Deutschunterricht (Stuttgart)
<i>DVLG</i>	Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
<i>EA</i>	Études Anglaises
<i>EC</i>	Études Celtiques
<i>EG</i>	Études Germaniques
<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
<i>EIC</i>	Essays in Criticism
<i>ELH</i>	Journal of English Literary History
<i>ES</i>	English Studies (Amsterdam)
<i>FiR</i>	Filologia Romanza
<i>FR</i>	French Review
<i>FS</i>	French Studies
<i>GLL</i>	German Life and Letters
<i>GQ</i>	German Quarterly
<i>GR</i>	Germanic Review
<i>GRM</i>	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Neue Folge
<i>GSLI</i>	Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana
<i>HR</i>	Hispanic Review
<i>JAF</i>	Journal of American Folklore
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology

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<i>LBB</i>	Leuvense Bijdragen (Bijblad) ('sGravenhage)
<i>LI</i>	Lettere Italiane
<i>LM</i>	Les Langues Modernes
<i>LR</i>	Les Lettres Romanes
<i>MA</i>	Le Moyen Age
<i>MÆ</i>	Medium Ævum
<i>MF</i>	Midwest Folklore
<i>MLJ</i>	Modern Language Journal
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>MS</i>	Mediaeval Studies
<i>NA</i>	Nuova Antologia di Lettere, Arti e Scienze
<i>N&Q</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>NS</i>	Die Neueren Sprachen
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>QJS</i>	Quarterly Journal of Speech
<i>RBPH</i>	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
<i>Regesten</i>	Regesten van de aanwinsten van het Instituut voor Vergelijkend Literatuuronderzoek aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>RF</i>	Romanische Forschungen
<i>RFE</i>	Revista de Filologia Espagnola
<i>RJ</i>	Romanistisches Jahrbuch
<i>RLC</i>	Revue de Littérature Comparée
<i>RLI</i>	La Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana
<i>RLR</i>	Revue des Langues Romanes (Montpellier)
<i>RP</i>	Romance Philology
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>SAQ</i>	South Atlantic Quarterly
<i>SDDUW</i>	Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, University of Wisconsin
<i>SF</i>	Studi Francesi
<i>SFQ</i>	Southern Folklore Quarterly
<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology
<i>TLS</i>	[London] Times Literary Supplement
<i>UTQ</i>	University of Toronto Quarterly
<i>UTSE</i>	University of Texas Studies in English
<i>WJ</i>	Wolfram-Jahrbuch
<i>WuW</i>	Welt und Wort
<i>WW</i>	Wirkendes Wort
<i>YR</i>	Yale Review
<i>YWES</i>	Year's Work in English Studies
<i>YWMLS</i>	Year's Work in Modern Language Studies
<i>ZAA</i>	Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik
<i>ZCP</i>	Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie
<i>ZDA</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
<i>ZDP</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
<i>ZFSL</i>	Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur
<i>ZRP</i>	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

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Temple University

REVIEWS

English Sentimental Drama. By ARTHUR SHERBO. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957. Pp. viii + 181. \$4.50.

The title of this book suggests another historical account of sentimental drama, a subject which has already received ample attention from Waterhouse, Bernbaum, Nicoll, and others. But Arthur Sherbo's book duplicates none of this effort. It is an original contribution to the subject which might more accurately be entitled "Criteria for Determining Sentimental Drama."

As students of dramatic types know, "sentimental" when applied to drama is an elusive term which baffles final definition. All are agreed that there are kinds and degrees of sentimentalism, but there is no final consensus on just what plays constitute the canon of that form of drama. It is Sherbo's purpose to examine carefully all opinions on the subject, determine the area of agreement, and then propose additional criteria for judging more accurately whether a play is or is not sentimental.

From a survey of eighteenth-century critical observations on sentimental drama, plus an analysis of definitions by modern scholars, Sherbo concludes that five basic features characterize the form: the presence of a moral element, called the "problem"; an appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect; an element of the artificial, exaggerated, or improbable; good or perfectible human beings as characters; and an emphasis on pity. These criteria should afford, then, a working definition of sentimentalism. But the inadequacy of the definition, when put into practice, is revealed in the number of plays which satisfy the fivefold test but obviously cannot be called sentimental—for example, many Elizabethan domestic dramas, tragicomedies, and pastoral plays.

To resolve the paradox is Sherbo's thesis, and this he does by comparing and analyzing selected non-sentimental plays from the Elizabethan and Restoration periods with their counterparts in theme and situation, sometimes even their adaptations, from the sentimental comedy of the eighteenth century. The results, under three major heads, define the differences between the sentimental and non-sentimental. For example, the sudden repentances and fifth-act reformations in the plays of Shakespeare and other Elizabethans are, in sentimental comedy, drawn out at length and exploited to the full, with a consequent gain in credibility. Thus, "repetition and prolongation" of potentially sentimental situations, as opposed to brevity of treatment, is one criterion for the form that has not been previously realized. Similarly, the same method of procedure shows that the relative "eschewal of humor and bawdy" is another hallmark of the species. And what is called "emphasis and direction," meaning the stress laid on the tender and pathetic by deletion of extraneous material, is yet a third. These are Sherbo's main points, convincingly presented with abundant illustration. To them he adds a chapter of "Other Criteria," minor and not so clear-cut.

The volume is concluded with an independent essay on "The Popularity of the Genre," which employs the same method of comparison, drawing on available primary sources to evaluate the relative popularity of sentimental and non-sentimental plays in the period 1750-1800. The purpose here seems to be to show that the claims made for sentimental comedy have been exaggerated, particularly its alleged "triumph" during the years 1773-1780 and thereafter.

Sherbo's procedure is always scholarly. He makes no undue claims for his

methods or results, presenting them only as supplementary aids to understanding the problem posed by sentimental drama. Few will disagree that in tightening the definition and narrowing the bounds of this species of play, he has made an authoritative contribution to the literature of the subject. His appended bibliography is probably what he claims for it, not exhaustive but "still the most complete available" on the subject.

FRANK H. RISTINE

Hamilton College

The Diary of Clara Crowninshield: A European Tour with Longfellow, 1835-1836. Edited by ANDREW HILEN. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956. Pp. xxxv + 304. \$5.00.

That Longfellow is again in vogue would be an overstatement. What is most praised in poetry by contemporary criticism is not what is praiseworthy in Longfellow's achievement. But that a fresh and increasingly interesting historical figure is beginning to emerge from behind the bearded ikon of the late years of Craige House is evidenced by the publication of Andrew Hilen's excellent edition of the diary kept by Clara Crowninshield as a companion on Longfellow's second tour of Europe in 1835-1836. Hilen's comprehensive introduction, skillful bridges, thrifty deletions, and succinct annotation give reinforcement to a journal which is superior in quality and present interest to Longfellow's own fictionalized version, in *Hyperion* (1839), of parts of the same tour. Hers is both gayer and more dramatic, for Miss Crowninshield writes without furbelows. Through her eyes we have a picture at once vivid and particularized, heightened with the tragedy of Mrs. Longfellow's death from puerperal fever in Rotterdam, and, after the continuance of the tour alone with the young widower, made touching by the account of what one may suspect to have been a frustrated affection for the man whose eyes were to turn instead toward Fanny Appleton.

To read the *Diary of Clara Crowninshield* as a companion piece to *Hyperion* is of course inevitable. Many of the scenes and characters appear in both, as Hilen indicates; and Paul Flemming's literary trysts with the Mary of the novel have less to do with Miss Appleton (whom Longfellow met on an excursion to Switzerland, and to whom *Hyperion* was a valentine) than with the Clara with whom he shared Jean Paul and Novalis.

To read the *Diary* as a thematic parallel to *Hyperion* is, however, at least tempting. "Henry," Clara writes at one point during their long stay in Heidelberg,

called in the afternoon. Julie was sitting with me. Henry had just finished the *Sorrows of Werther* and he talked with Julie a long time about it. I got nervous listening so long to a conversation that I could understand for the most part but still could not participate in. The moon shone pleasantly into the room and we sat without lights. There is something melancholy to me in moonlight and I was so nervous that I felt as if I must either laugh or cry.

But she began to participate. "When I say that I am separated from all my friends I speak truly," she noted afterwards, "for Mr. Longfellow is not associated with me in any of my pursuits nor do I participate in any of his. Therefore we do not contribute at all to the happiness of each other and my situation would be the same if he were not here."

Or would it? Later she herself was reading *Werther*, that story of a man who fell in love with his friend's wife.

There I found my own feelings described. It was a true picture of my own heart in those moments when I feel desolate and severed from the world. I took up the book with pleasure, till the shadow grew deeper and deeper. While he [Werther] was unhappy I could sympathize with him, but that a man should yield to and cherish such a morbid state of feeling excites my disgust rather than my sympathy, and I was infinitely more moved by his unhappiness in the beginning than by the shocking termination. At first I could sympathize with him, but thro' the dark valley which led him to the final catastrophe I could not follow him.

Nor did she. "Poor maidens," she had assured herself earlier, "whose affections are everything to them! How often are they only sources of suffering to us! I have acquired such a philosophic indifference to all things in this life that I can, anytime when I feel that the wound is not inflicted by Heaven—that is what is undeserved—shut up my heart in a case of iron and defy the dagger." At last she could try indifference, as she did at the beginning of their return to America, when he again met the Appletons in Paris: "Mr. Longfellow and Fanny at the theatre, Mrs. Bryant and I at home."

Professor Hilen is too careful to spell out such an interpretation of the journal he has edited. He has left that to reviewers. But he is well aware of what this new account does to a premature twilight of biographical knowledge. We are given at the very least an unbearded portrait of the young Longfellow who was soon to live at Craigie House, and who described himself, in the person of Paul Flemming, as, "She says you have a rakish look, because you carry a cane, and your hair curls. Your gloves, also, are a shade too light for a strictly virtuous man."

The circumstances were fortunate which led the natural daughter of a wealthy Salem merchant to become Longfellow's companion on a tour that was to prepare him for his chair at Harvard. In the beginning, his financial recompense for chaperoning her and Miss Goddard, a cousin of Mrs. Longfellow (who, however, had left before Rotterdam), helped to make the trip possible. Today the circumstances appear doubly fortunate because of the journal she kept about both "Henry" and "Mr. Longfellow." Fanny Appleton, who also kept a journal (from which excerpts have recently been published), gave hers to Longfellow as a wedding present. Longfellow's grandson had to buy Clara's from her granddaughter. The record is at last complete, or will be when Longfellow's own journal appears in print.

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

Yale University

Franz Kafka Today. Edited by ANGEL FLORES and HOMER SWANDER. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. Pp. viii + 290. \$5.00.

Franz Kafka Today is a critical miscellany which succeeds an earlier collection, *The Kafka Problem* (New Directions, 1946), edited by Angel Flores. The rather strained divisions of the earlier collection have been discarded in favor of a four-part separation into short stories, novels, diaries and letters, and bibliographies and index.

In some ways the title of this collection is misleading. Much of *Franz Kafka Today* is also Franz Kafka yesterday. This is not to say we are hearing the same voices, but the lines of approach are familiar. There is in this volume, as there was in *The Kafka Problem*, the same editorial magnanimity that allows both these books to represent a variety of views, many of them implicitly contra-

dictory of one another. I cannot help admiring the disinterestedness of the editors, but at the same time I feel that if there has been any progress made on the Great Wall of Kafka it has been made along lines that might require the exclusion as retrograde of some of the essays in this book.

A persistent error in Kafka criticism is the tendency to presume on the doctrine of the absurd and to regard his stories as allegorical fabrications whose calm translations of Christian theology, the Jewish Diaspora, and Kierkegaardian existentialism into the petty bourgeois nightmare are tours de force of absurdity. The error arises from the failure to realize that Kafka is not writing theology and that scriptural exegesis is not suited to him. Such an approach betrays itself first of all by ignoring the nature of the terrible energy that lies hidden beneath the mask of the equally terrible calm that pervades Kafka's style and also by the very style in which it is presented, a persistent use of the phraseology of insecurity. Jarvis Thurston's elaborate allegorical exegesis of "The Married Couple" is typical of this approach. It cautiously constructs the Trinity in a Prague apartment with such terms as "Certainly it should be no unwarranted leap for the reader to link this with the Christian paradox," or "Offhand these identifications may seem quite arbitrary." In his hands "The Married Couple," whose dreamlike quality cannot be contained in a parcel so tidy, becomes a sterile pantomime, like a sermon in sign language.

All roads do not lead to Vienna; the psychoanalyst's couch must not be hired out to Procrustes. Yet Kafka is unique in that his work demands investigation in terms of his psychic life and the record of his relationship with his family. His stories are more than merely dreamlike; they are, as he himself knew, dreams or fantasies which have been elaborated into works of art.

Albert Camus speaks (in "Hope and Absurdity," in *The Kafka Problem*) of Kafka's delineation of the "absurd," the mind projecting "its spiritual tragedy into the concrete. . . . Whoever wishes to delineate this absurdity will have to give it life in this play of parallel contrasts. It is thus that Kafka expresses tragedy by the banal, and the absurd by logic." It is thus, also, that one dreams, in a matter-of-fact way (with fear, perhaps, but never with surprise), that one has turned into a bug, or that a court is convened on Sunday in an attic. Sometimes in telling the dream the dreamer will emphasize the familiarity of the unreal event by saying, as Kafka says in "The Married Couple," "I found nothing particularly odd in that," when the father is laid head to feet with the son. It is for this reason that Kafka depends for his power as an artist upon what may be called, in contradistinction to Eliot's term for the Dantean vision, not the "higher dream" but the lower dream with which Freud deals in his *Traumdeutung*. In transforming his dreams into works of art, Kafka does not squeeze the universal into the local and finite dramatic situation so much as he expands the local, the finite (in his case, his family situation), into the universal. Kafka senior is not our Father Which art in Heaven, but our Father Which art in Heaven is, to begin with, Herman Kafka the Prague shopkeeper. It is, as someone has described the baths of Caracalla, the *magnificatio ad absurdum* of the trivial.

Heinz Politzer, in his discussion of "Letter to His Father," makes what can be taken as an axiomatic statement for the study of Kafka.

Thus the letter gives the blueprint of the underground foundation upon which Kafka erected his work. That it is a literary rather than a personal document becomes clear when we observe Kafka using the biographical data of his life to comment upon his writings and his writings to comment upon his life. . . . At one point he calls the family situation "that terrible *trial* that is pending between you

and ourselves." Or more distinctly and more mysteriously, he discusses the "infinite sense of guilt" which his father had instilled in him. . . . By telling his life as a fable and commenting upon it in his peculiar way, he raised his conflict to the level of literature.

The excellence of F. D. Luke's study of the "Metamorphosis" depends, again, upon the psychological integrity of his initial insight. "Metamorphosis" is first of all a "punishment-fantasy associated with an extremely primitive father-image. . . . The son-figures ["Metamorphosis" is part of a constellation which includes "The Judgment" and "In the Penal Colony"] are all guilty of original sin, the unforgivable offense of self-assertion." From this id-level of interpretation Luke's step up to the aesthetic and moral levels of the story itself is firm, assured, and convincing. Like Mann's "Death in Venice," "Metamorphosis" is a story of

degradation—outwardly the degradation of a human being turning into an insect, or of a respectable and distinguished middle-aged writer painting his face and following a boy along the streets—inwardly and essentially the degradation of the rational organism, the collapse of civilized values before the latent ("daemonic") forces of chaos. . . . The nightmare described in "Death in Venice" . . . is an elaborately written artificial literary vision. . . . But Kafka's "dream-logic" is genuine.

In his dealing with Kafka's technique, that achievement of a schizoid separation of affects from experience, Luke's approach, avowedly psychoanalytic, is equally rewarding.

Kafka's technique is thus seen to consist largely of skilful exposures, cumulative revelations of a basic [and, as the author points out, intentionally comic] incongruity between situations and responses; it insistently explores the self-protective devices to which the human mind has recourse at a level far below that of rational judgment. In the successful dream (as in the successful psychosis) pain is prohibited, disturbing emotion prophylactically drained away from the experience to which it belongs; should it prove too intractable, the attempt to sleep through it is abandoned. But in Kafka's stories the defense is maintained . . . the horror is repudiated, the extraordinary is absorbed into the ordinary; and thus the doors of the madhouse of sleep never open, the alarm clock rings in vain.

Psychological insight gives cogency also to Donald Pearce's essay on *The Castle as Kafka's Divine Comedy*.

The relations between the village and the castle may be regarded as those between the conscious (earthly) and subconscious (heavenly) in the ordinary and unreflective person. . . . K's relations with the castle, however, are those between the conscious and the unconscious (earthly and heavenly) in a reflective person, one who, discovering no traditional external Absolute, turns inward and seeks by rational self-analysis to reach the Absolute within himself (. . . the "God Within" of Jung).

And Homer Swander's "The Castle: K's Village" begins with the assumption that the tripartite world Kafka describes in the "Letter to his Father" is the genesis of the novel, a world in which Joseph K., longing toward both, is rejected by the "orthodox community of men" and fails to establish any relationship with the castle for which he has bartered self-exile.

Franz Kafka Today is an interesting and useful collection, whose very excellencies spell the end of such an eclectic approach to his work.

DANIEL WEISS

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La poesía mítica de Federico García Lorca. By GUSTAVO CORREA. Eugene: University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in Literature and Philology, No. 7, 1957. Pp. v + 174. \$3.00, paper.

El lenguaje poético de Federico García Lorca. By JAROSLAW M. FLYS. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Estudios y Ensayos 23, 1955. Pp. 243. Pts. 60.

Gustavo Correa discovers in six of Lorca's works (*Poema del cante jondo*, *Romancero gitano*, *Bodas de sangre*, *Yerma*, *Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías*, *Poeta en Nueva York*) the expression of a mythic consciousness similar to that found by modern anthropology in primitive man and in the substrata of the human mind by Jungian psychology. The principal characteristic of this mythic consciousness is a sense of the absolute continuity of man with nature and his total immersion in the cosmos. From this continuity, expressed by Lorca in the archetypal symbols of tree, flower, horse, fish, bull, and moon, derive such characteristics as the anthropomorphic dynamism of natural forces, the granting of objective reality to the attributes of an object, the lack of differentiation between life and death, dream and reality, the operation of special laws of magical causation and of metamorphosis, and the use of the ritual theme of death and return, based on the earth's fertility cycle. Paralleling the continuity of mythic consciousness found by Correa in the six works mentioned is a similar continuity in the poet's use of metaphor and symbol, since his language can in no way be divorced from the consciousness which impels him to speak.

Such a summary inevitably distorts the closely argued development of Correa's thesis, which grows so naturally and so organically out of a close reading of the texts that the final chapter, with its consideration of Lorca in the light of anthropology and psychology, serves only to broaden the reader's understanding of a case already proved. The author is to be commended for his skill in handling the materials of the social sciences without losing sight of his primary task of elucidating a body of poetry, and for his ability to explore the relationship between poetry and myth without confusing two parallel but separate phenomena. But the book's principal virtue is its organic unity. The interpretations of individual lines and images are brilliant, yet each individual perception serves to illustrate, first the poem or scene of which it is a part, then the whole book of poems or the whole play, and finally the over-all concept of mythic consciousness. Gustavo Correa has combined sound scholarship with original critical insights to produce an indispensable book.

The value of Correa's organic approach becomes even more apparent when his study is contrasted with the *Lenguaje poético de Federico García Lorca* of Jaroslaw M. Flys. An attempt to apply to Lorca's poetry the terminology evolved by Carlos Bousoño in his *Teoría de la expresión poética*, Flys's essay treats poetry excluded by Correa, but omits all reference to the plays, apparently on the purely rhetorical basis of genre. In Lorca's case this is surely an artificial distinction, and omission of such late plays as *Yerma*, *Doña Rosita la soltera*, and *La casa de Bernarda Alba* might well make for a truncated view of the poet's development. Yet it is precisely Lorca's development which Flys purports to give. The book's first section provides a résumé of the following stages of development: first, in *Libro de poemas*, a predominance of the emblem, or stereotyped symbol, used to give concrete form to abstract thought; second, culminating in *Romancero gitano*, the use of metaphor to express visual contemplation; third, beginning in the *Odas*, and continuing in *Poeta en Nueva*

York, the development of personal symbols. Lorca achieves a perfect fusion of symbol and metaphor in the *Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías*, but in his later work Flys finds and censures a return to the earlier use of emblems and a decline in the poetic force of metaphor and personal symbol.

In the second section of his essay Flys justifies the résumé just quoted with detailed studies of each of the stylistic processes to be found in Lorca's poetic language. In doing so, he rarely treats a poem as a unified whole. The second part of his book becomes a collection of fragments, chosen and dissected with exquisite care and taste, but essentially divorced from their context. One is reminded of a collection of parrots cut into pieces, their heads displayed in one room, their claws in a second, their tail feathers in a third. This method has led Flys down a blind alley, since in the last analysis he can only be said to have attempted the study of a poetic language apart from its meaning.

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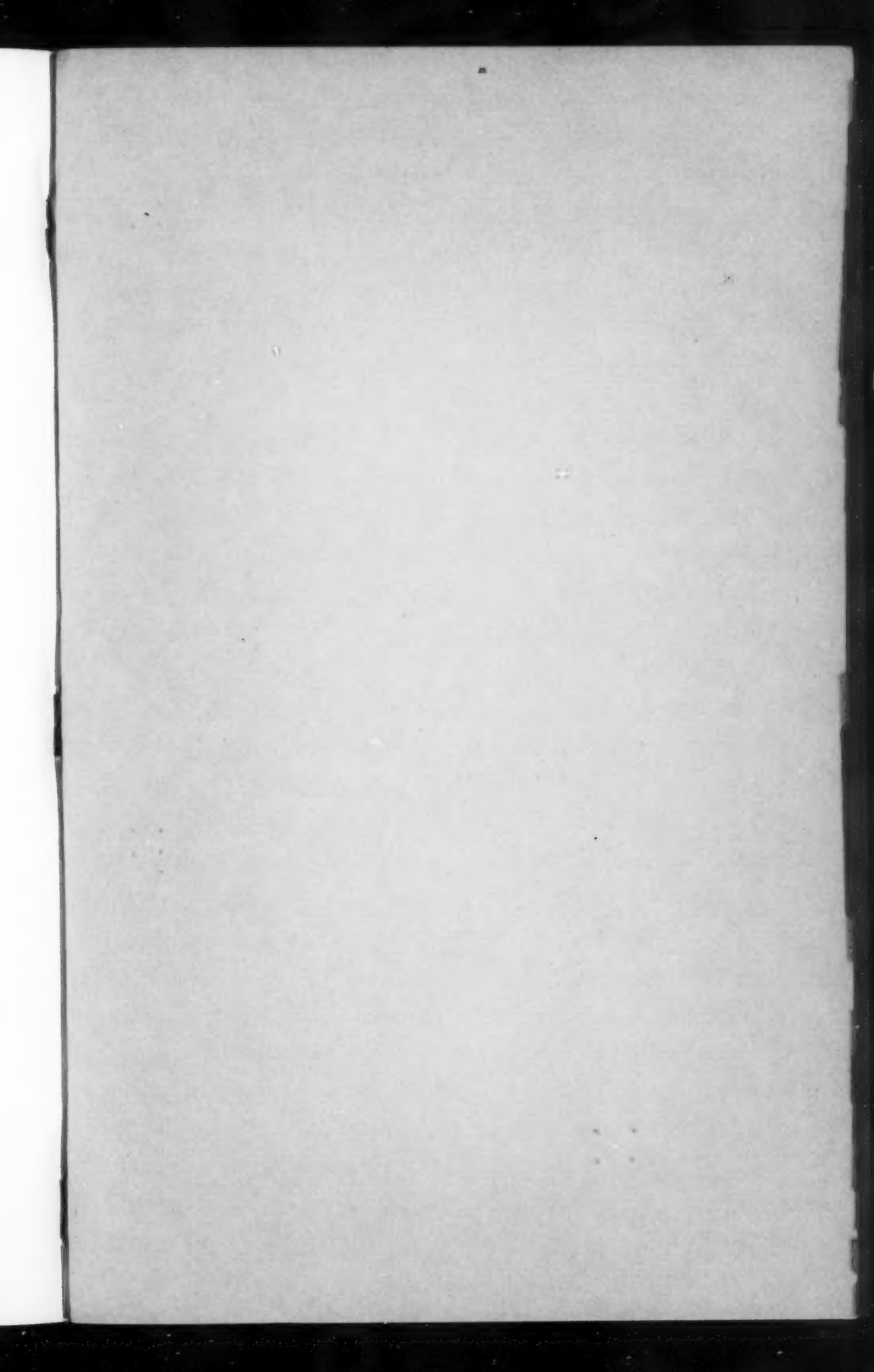
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